Wit and Wisdom
of
INDIRA GANDHI



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THE UNCROWNED QUEEN OF INDIA

A treasury of several thousand invaluable, inspiring and invigorating Thoughts, Views and Observations of the Prime Minister of India, on various topics of National and International importance, collected from her large number of speeches, writings, interviews and broadcasts, and classified under about five hundred subjects of popular interest.

Edited by

N. B. SEN

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PREFACE

This book contains the thoughts, views and observations of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. As will be evident from a perusal of its contents, there is hardly any subject of national and international importance on which she has not expressed herself in an emphatic, clear and forceful manner.

Whereas many of her thoughts and observations will earn for her the esteem and admiration of the reader, some of her views on topics like Communism, Provincialism, Communalism, Linguism, Casteism, "Family Planningism" and other "isms" are likely to arouse controversy and even criticism in various quarters. But none can say with confidence whether these observations are the outcome of her policy, creed or political expediency. In Politics, as in Love and War, all is fair and has to be tolerated.

This bold and fearless lady has a courage of conviction, all her own. She usually says what she feels, without mincing matters. In her speeches, writings and actions, one can easily discover her foresight, prudence and practical wisdom in political, social, communal, linguistic and economic problems facing the country.

Indira Gandhi's deep sense of patriotism and love for the down-trodden, coupled with her untiring efforts to improve their lot, have endeared her to her countrymen and earned their gratitude. At present she occupies the highest position of honour, prestige and dignity, unattained so far by any other woman in Indian History. No wonder that she is now adored by her countrymen as the "Uncrowned Queen of India."

Although she has touched the pinnacle of glory and reached the zenith of power, as Prime Minister of the biggest Democracy in the world, she is as modest, unassuming and humble as ever. People from all walks of life, high or low, have access to her and find her so gentle, polite and hospitable. She can meet, greet and entertain a Prince and a Peasant with equal ease. Her self-possession, self-reliance and self-confidence are remarkable indeed !

Whereas she is a pillar of strength to her friends, comrades and colleagues, she is a terror to her political enemies and overthrows them in such a way that they fall like a Lucifer, never to rise again In victory, she is generous and forgiving and when her adversaries are in trouble, she treats them with courtesy, kindness and consideration and is ever-ready to help them Such qualities of culture and grace in her are admired by her friends and foes alike and are greatly appreciated by the dispassionate observers.

Mrs Gandhi is at her best when provoked and challenged. She knows how to face situations and solve problems that confront her and the Nation from time to time. Criticism cannot unnerve this lady with a stout heart and difficulties do not disturb her "Having lived in the midst of crises from my childhood, I am not overawed by difficulties," said she in a speech on 12th March 1966.

After having attained so much of stature in the domains of politics, diplomacy and administration, she has justified the adage of Plato that "there is nothing peculiar in the constitution of women which would affect them in the administration of the state " At the same time, from her thoughts, words and deeds, the saying of Socrates stands confirmed that ' woman, once made equal to man, becometh his superior."

When she was a young, blooming and lovely girl of seventeen, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to her in 1934 : "To read History is good, but even more interesting is to help in making History "

Little did her countrymen know at that time that Indiraji would understand the significance of this ambitious advice at such a tender age, live up to that ideal and one day fulfil the desire of her illustrious father in such a brilliant manner.

It is hoped that this thesaurus of her several thousand invaluable, inspiring and invigorating thoughts, classified under about 500 subjects of popular interest will prove beneficial to the readers at home and abroad

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19th November 1971

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to

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the late Dr. Zakir Husain

who was a great Educationist

and was respected for his

piety, nobility and humility.

C O N T E N T S



INDIRA GANDHI

The Uncrowned Queen of India

Sweet, smiling and steady,
Sober, strong and serene ;
See how this lovely lucky lady,
Sways the Indian Scene !

Springfield.

Something about Herself

It was Shastriji and Pandit Pant who brought me into Politics after Independence and persuaded me to continue whenever I wanted to quit Politics. These leaders have shown us the way, and I want to go along the same path.

I have always considered myself a *desh sevika* (servant of the nation) just as my father regarded himself as the first servant of the nation I also consider myself a servant of the Party and of the great people of this country.

Speech on 19th January 1966.

I am not much of a believer in rituals.

Having lived in the midst of crises from my childhood, I am not overawed by difficulties

Speech on 12th March 1966

I am an expert at dealing with people. This is something, I was either born with or I learnt from my very childhood There is no time that I remember when I was not in the midst of crowds or amongst quite different groups of people. I had the good fortune of being part of a household where we used to meet a very varied crowd. Even at the height of the Independence Movement, we had scientists, writers, artists, from all over the world staying with us and there were English people, even people who were in a way against the whole Independence Movement. Thus, in this manner I developed what may be called a 'feel' of the people and I find that this institution helps me with the ordinary people. It is not something that is a gift from Heaven. It is something that can be cultivated by meeting people and trying to be sincere in finding out what troubles they have.

Speech on 24th June 1966

I am no economist but I do claim to know something of the people of India. I know their difficulties and aspirations

There has been no day during my public career, when I have met fewer than 200 persons from every part of the country. On some days I see as many as 500 people. I must confess, when I meet them I only think of our achievements with pride.

I have no doubt that our difficulties will mount, almost a hundred per cent each day. But I go to difficulties head on. Since I was a child, I have been able to proceed only in this way.

Speech on 25th July 1966.

Morning tea, which I do not take!

Speech on 8th July 1969

I am always glad to meet different sections of the people.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

As Prime Minister, I am concerned with the problems of the social, economic and political engineering of new India. I travel constantly and meet millions of people. Each such encounter confirms the impression of changing ideas, attitudes, even habits. And this transformation is taking place by consent and within the framework of a political democracy.

Speech on 31st October 1969

My family has occupied a place in the history of the country If I count names, at least 44 come to my mind and there may be many others because practically everybody who is related on both sides (my mother's family and my father's family), and my husband, of course, were very much involved in what the Congress did, in what the Congress stood for. Our very home had become (although not officially) the voice of the Congress Not only our old house but even the new one was the unofficial centre for many great decisions and many of the policies which to-day we support.

For any group of people to say that I am betraying the Congress, or that I want to do something that is against the interests of the great organisation is hardly fair, especially when some of the people involved, not perhaps amongst big leaders, but certainly many younger leaders, are those who had nothing to do with the Congress uptil 1947 They came in when there was no question of sacrifice or suffering but merely of what could be got out of the Party.

Speech on 13th November 1969.

Congress is very dear to me because some people joined it at the age of 15, some people at the age of 20 and some at 40 or 50 But I was born in the Congress. There was no time when my home, since I was born, was not the centre of all the major political movements, decisions and the meetings that took place and the whole of modern Indian history was being made there. People from all over India—peasants and others—

were constantly coming. I was meeting them. I was in touch with their problems and so on. Nobody could be closer to the Congress or even more emotionally involved than I have been and I still am But even so, I do feel that the country is more important than the Congress. If the Congress serves the needs of the country, it is alright, we are with it. But if it does not, we cannot say that this is more important than India or the people of India

Speech on 13th December 1969.

I may not be a financial wizard. In fact, I know very little about finance, but I do have enough intelligence.

If any person wants to shout, believe me they cannot out-shout me. I have far more experience in this Art than many persons have.

Speech on 24th January 1970.

I am not in the habit of losing temper.

Speech in Parliament on 14th May 1970.

Now men qualify my position and my situation as being a woman's. When I was put in jail and tortured for civil disobedience along with others, when they asked me to join the marches and the demonstrations, they never asked me if I was a man or a woman. And later when I was sent to quell riots and disturbances in several towns, they never thought of me as a woman. In one town there were riots where no man dared to go and I was sent to pacify the rioters. At one time I had to walk for 12 days because the place was so rocky that even a donkey could not get there. Most difficult assignments were given to me, assignments where a man's physical strength was needed: They did not consider me a woman then, and now they want to bring it out because I am in position.

I think there was no time when I was not interested in Politics, but never as a career. Even now I am not interested in it as a career.

I am deeply interested in so many things though it is difficult to say I like books, and I like people. I think my interest in Politics is because I like people. But I am interested in things like Anthropology, in the conservation of nature, in art, in music. I just do not know, I am interested in life, and all this is part of life. You cannot really cut off any part of it.

I have met a lot of the great people of the world. I think that the influence is more that of the many smaller people one meets, because it is more subtle. I think when you meet a great man there is a certain amount of resistance to be influenced,

but it is the smaller people, the principals of the schools and colleges I have been to, and I would say my children have influenced me also

Interview to Dr. Gisela Bonn, German Journalist.

I would have liked to be a writer, I would have liked to do research in History or, perhaps, in Anthropology for that interests me even more than History. I have always been interested in the life of the tribal people, in their folk art and their folk music

If I wanted to have an easy life, I could have become an interior decorator—I am really interested in the subject

I could even have become a dancer—I learnt Manipuri in Shantiniketan, and Gurudev wanted me to take a tour around the country

Interview to Khawaja Ahmad Abbas.

My assumption of office as Prime Minister has occasioned no surprise in India where women have for years played a prominent role in the Freedom struggle, in politics and public life We have women engineers, women governors, women ambassadors, women judges, and women diplomats and administrators. Many of our Village Councils have women members and some of them consist entirely of women.

So my becoming Prime Minister is not as novel as it might appear in the West The women in the world account for half of mankind Obviously they have a tremendously important role to play in every field of human endeavour. My position does not add to or detract from this fundamental truth

Interview to John Harris.

Thoughts on Mahatma Gandhi

Gandhiji taught us the dignity of labour and enshrined this concept in his scheme of basic education.

Broadcast on 19th October 1966.

The basic teaching of Gandhiji was that all men are brothers and differences among them should be settled non-violently. Non-violence to Gandhiji did not mean the mere absence of violence. It was not a negative concept; it was a positive quality of always seeking friendship and reconciliation, of believing that people can evolve towards a higher level of living only in and through peace. This was how we fought the British, eschewing violence and believing completely in reconciliation and negotiation.

Speech on 11th January 1967

Gandhiji, who called the pen 'the foundry of the nation', once wrote, "To be true to my faith, I may not write in anger or malice, I may not write idly, I may not write merely to excite passion. The reader can have no idea of the restraint I have to exercise from week to week in the choice of topics and vocabulary. It enables me to peep into myself and to make discoveries of my weaknesses. Often my vanity dictates a smart expression or my anger a harsh adjective. It is a terrible ordeal but a fine exercise to remove these words."

Speech on 1st February 1968.

Blessed is the nation where great men are born. One such great man was Mahatma Gandhi. He had enunciated some noble principles which are as valid to-day as they were during his lifetime. These principles would have validity even in the future. Gandhiji had dedicated his life to the service of Harijans, the poor and the backward people. He sacrificed his life to maintain unity. We have to learn a lesson from his teachings and the noble principles enunciated by him.

Gandhiji's selfless service has left an imprint on history He will be remembered for all times to come. We should draw inspiration from his teachings and his noble principles and make an effort to translate his dreams into reality.

Speech on 15th August 1968.

Mahatma Gandhi relied on spiritual strength. He believed in limiting one's wants and in working with one's hands. He modelled his life according to the ancient Hindu book, the Bhagavad Gita or 'the Lord's Song', but he drew inspiration also from Christianity and Islam. Indeed he thought that no man could follow his own religion truly unless he equally honoured other religions. Long before him, in the third century B C, the Emperor Ashoka had written, "In reverencing the faith of others, you will exalt your own faith and will get your own faith honoured by others."

In just four weeks in 1919, he changed the outlook of this sub-continent. He transformed the cowed and the weak into a nation which fearlessly asserted its right to be free He gave his people a new weapon, which ultimately delivered them from colonial rule. This weapon was *Satyagraha,* civil disobedience or non-violent non-co-operation. Literally, the word means 'insistence on truth'. It was a weapon that did not need physical strength But to be effective it did need the greatest self-discipline.

As long as there is oppression and degradation of the human spirit, people will seek guidance from Gandhiji to assert their dignity The weapon of non-violent resistance which he has given to mankind, is to-day used in other lands and other climes. The world rightly regards Gandhi as the greatest Indian since the Buddha. Like the Buddha, he will continue to inspire mankind in its progress to a higher level of civilization. In India, it is our endeavour to build a future which is worthy of him.

Mahatma Gandhi will be remembered as a prophet and a revolutionary. He stood for resistance—non-violent resistance —to tyranny and social injustice. He asked us to apply a test, which I quote, "Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, recall the case of the poorest and weakest man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore his control over his own life and destiny? Will it lead to *swaraj,* that is self-government, for the hungry and spiritually-starving millions? Then, you will find your doubts and self melting away." This test is valid for our times, indeed for all times It is valid for India and for the world.

Broadcast on 1st October 1968.

We have been powerfully conditioned by Mahatma Gandhi We believe that the evolution of individuals and

societies depends on the extent to which they exercise self-restraint and abjure the use of force.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

Gandhiji wanted to keep women on a pedestal, and he tried to lift the reality up to that pedestal or ideal, so that the Indian women could perhaps be able to get some of the attributes of a goddess.

Speech on 9th November 1968.

Gandhiji himself did not demand any unquestioning obedience. He did not want acceptance of his ends and means without a full examination. He encouraged discussion. He regarded no honest opinion as trivial and always found time for those who dissented from him—a quality rare in teachers in our country or in prophets anywhere. He was an un-typical prophet also in that he did not lay claim to revelation. He held forth neither blandishment of reward nor fear of punishment. Nor was he weighed down by the burden of his mission. He was a saint who quipped and had use for laughter.

Whilst Gandhiji was alive, many of my age-group found it difficult to understand him. Some of us were impatient with what we considered to be his fads, and we found some of his formulations obscure. We took his Mahatma-hood for granted, but quarrelled with him for bringing mysticism into politics.

Gandhiji differs from his fore-runners on the national scene in that he rejected the politics of the elite and found the key to mass action. He was a leader closely in tune with the mass mind, interpreting it and at the same time moulding it.

Gandhiji was an integrated being but he did not deal in absolutes. Few men were greatar idealists than he, but few were more practical. He propounded fundamental truths, but in every plan of action that he drew up, he proceeded on the basis of "One step is enough for me."

To me, Gandhiji is not a collection of dry thoughts but a living man who reminds one of the highest level to which a human being can evolve. Containing the best from the past, he lived in the present, yet for the future. Hence the timelessness of his highest thoughts! Much that he said and wrote was for the solution of immediate problems; some was for the inner guidance of individuals. His intellect did not

feed on derived information. He fashioned his ideas as tools in the course of his experiments in the laboratory of his own life

We, who were born in Gandhiji's own time, and country, have a special obligation to cherish his image. More than his words, his life was his message

Contribution to the Book 'Gandhi—100 Years' published in 1968.

When Mahatma Gandhi started the Freedom Movement, a great revolution took place in our country. But he brought about this revolution with great humility and with the co-operation of all. He emancipated the country from the clutches of a foreign power.

Speech on 15th August 1969.

Mahatma Gandhi lived and died for religious unity and brotherhood. We, who seek to draw our inspiration from him, are deeply conscious of our responsibility to continue his mission. And when clashes do occur, we make every effort to mobilise all our resources to put down the trouble.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

Mahatma Gandhi was a great man but he could be a leader only because the people were ready to follow him. He was the crest of the wave, but the people themselves were the wave

Speech on 5th June 1970.

Thoughts on Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru

In the seventeen years that Jawaharlal Nehru was Prime Minister, the unity of this country with its diversity of religion, community and language became a reality, and democracy was born and grew roots.

Broadcast on 26th January 1966.

Nehru moulded and gave direction to social change, bringing women into the economic and cultural front.

Speech on 26th June 1966.

Nehru had great faith in the United Nations which he thought was a notable effort towards achieving the unity of man and of upholding the destiny of man.

Nehru believed and proclaimed that freedom was the first condition of peace. There could be no peace so long as one nation ruled over another or claimed superiority by virtue of military might or of race. To Nehru, the end of colonialism and racialism was essential for an enduring peace amongst nations. Years ago, Gandhiji drew attention to a remarkable feature of Nehru's thought, that his nationalism was matched by his internationalism. Neither Gandhiji nor Jawaharlal Nehru ever said, "my country, right or wrong." Through the study of history, Jawaharlal Nehru was fully aware of the limitations of nationalism and the danger of a chauvinistic outlook. He was particularly suspicious of any alliance between nationalism and religious fanaticism or of militarism and nationalism. He often said that it was an irony that new nations have to come into being at a time when nationalism itself has been rendered obsolete by the march of science and technology. It was imperialism which was the cause of this anomaly.

Jawaharlal Nehru wanted nations to rise above circumstances and to look ahead. Mr. Attlee called Nehru "the first Statesman of the New World to be." Nehru was conscious of the conflicts between nationalism and internationalism. But his efforts were all directed towards resolving that conflict. Through his well-thought-out foreign policy, he proved that India's national interest lay in working ceaselessly for international peace Ashoka has been described as the greatest king in the world. He proclaimed that the only true conquests

were those of peace. Nehru, conditioned by Gandhiji's stress on truth and non-violence and by his own study of history, had a repugnance of militarism and he spoke with his whole being when he endorsed UNESCO's declaration that the defences of peace are to be created in the minds of men.

Speech on 12th April 1967.

Nehru projected in international assemblies and wherever he went, a new and dynamic image of India To the down-trodden and under-privileged and the oppressed all over the world, he became the very personification of freedom, not merely freedom as the opposite of enslavement but freedom in its wider sense, that is, a liberation of the spirit. He realised fully that political freedom would always be endangered if it were not accompanied by economic regeneration and self-reliance. A perceptive historian, he was deeply conscious of the weaknesses in our society and strove relentlessly to cut asunder the old rusty chains of superstition and narrowness of mind which had isolated us from the growth of science and technology. He knew that the spirit could be liberated and freed only when there was rational thinking and rational living He felt that India could be vibrantly alive only if it could liberate its spirit. But he thought also, as indeed did Gandhiji, that no one can attain to it unless certain basic needs of the body are also met. That is why he laid so much stress on the utilisation of science and technology for improving the conditions of living of our people, for widening their horizon in every way.

Speech on 14th November 1967.

My father had great pride in being an Indian and a limitless and undying faith in our people. He had also enormous courage—moral, intellectual and physical.

My father's life is now a part of history, but his thoughts and beliefs are not bound by the barriers of time. What he said then is equally true for us now.

Speech on 9th December 1967.

Jawaharlal Nehru was very much a man of the contemporary world. Yet he was steeped in Indian tradition and heritage, and the policies he formulated—for the present and futute—had their roots in our past, whether it was secularism or the emphasis on material progress for the people, or the concept of a society founded on duty

Interview on 19th March 1968.

I think Jawaharlal Nehru's place in histroy will be that of a great modernizer of our country. Greater than all his other contributions to India was his work to make India cultivate a rational and scientific outlook. In himself, he combined the rational scientific outlook with a basic faith. Many ingredients went into this basic faith—the teachings of the Buddha, the Gita, Mahatma Gandhi, the humanism of the great authors of the East and the West, the thoughts of the philosophers of the enlightenment and of social revolution, as well as the investigations of the scientists into the great mysteries of the Universe. He once described himself as being attuned to the entire thought of mankind, which is perhaps what every civilised person should be. He was happiest when he was among scientists.

Speech on 13th April 1968.

My father was not a dogmatic socialist. His 'socialistic pattern'—which is also ours—differs from the rigid definitions given to socialism elsewhere.

Asia Magazine, 19th July 1968.

With the advent of Freedom, my father became directly concerned with the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. He breathed new life into it, making it an instrument of national regeneration and progress. He was deeply and actively interested in the growth and development of science in India, for his long study of history and social development had convinced him that the progress, prosperity and independence of a country was indissolubly linked with its advancement in the field of science and technology.

Speech on 10th August 1968.

Nehru was universal in spirit, and his mind and heart encompassed the whole world.

Speech on 28th September 1968.

Jawaharlal Nehru was a believer in seeking areas of agreement and co-operation, and in enlarging them. He advocated a 'new approach to co-operation and the furtherance of the co-operative effort.'

Jawaharlal Nehru, who combined in himself modern political thought and the basic teaching of Mahatma Gandhi, strove to bring about a new system of relations amongst nations. He was tireless in advocating peaceful co-existence. He believed that in a world rent by conflict, freedom not fear, faith not doubt, confidence not suspicion would lead to friendship amongst nations.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

The experience of the ebb and flow of our national movement enabled my father to arrive at a fuller understanding of Gandhiji and to weave the essential elements of Gandhiji's thinking into his own.

Contribution to the Book 'Gandhi—100 Years' published in 1968.

Mahatma Gandhi led us to freedom and Jawaharlal Nehru laid the foundations of our modernization and scientific growth Nehru was the greatest of democrats, for it was he who took all issues to the people, patiently explaining to them the meaning of modern technology and the intricacies of events in other parts of the world Doggedly he fought the unpopular battle against superstition and outmoded ritualistic habits which obstruct us. Both Gandhi and Nehru emphasised that freedom did not connote mere political independence, but economic welfare, social justice and renaissance of the spirit.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

Jawaharlal Nehru was a maker of modern India. Many milestones mark the distance which this nation has traversed with him.

I knew Jawaharlal Nehru as father and as leader and also as a friend His special characteristic was his great love for India and her people, and for humanity as a whole. Hence, his sense of personal involvement in the process of change and his intense concern for the future

Nehru was a student of history. The past was alive to him, and in it he saw the roots of the present and the future But he looked ahead and into the future, towards the possibility of correcting man's ills and history's injustices. But he knew that redress could not come automatically Changes had to be willed and worked and fought for All his life he struggled against tremendous odds to give India a vision and the policies to transform that vision into reality. He dreamt and worked to give India an honourable place amongst nations

Convocation Address on 14th November 1969.

Jawaharlal Nehru was convinced that only science and rational thinking would help us to overcome our old and deep-rooted poverty and win the respect of other nations.

Speech on 19th January 1970.

Thoughts on Gurudev Tagore

Tagore is a part of our culture, a part of our rich heritage; not only of our own heritage but of the heritage of the world. He is one of those Indians who established links with the rest of the world. He stood for the widening of the human vision and the cross-fertilisation of cultures and ideas. He was deeply conscious of the condition of the Indian people He talked of high ideals and beauty, and yet he was ever conscious of the need to work for the poorest and those who had been oppressed in our country and elsewhere.

All of Gurudev's ideas, poems and prayers were concerned not with any narrow culture but with, for instance, freedom—freedom not merely in the political sense but freedom from ignorance, freedom from superstition, freedom from bigotry and narrowness. All his ideas and attempts were to lift the human being to a higher level

Speech in Parliament on 31st July 1966.

Tagore moulded the mind of modern India in a special way. He was truly one of the sentinels of a united mankind. He has rightly been compared with the sages of ancient India. He was also a poet and a teacher. His thought was pertinent to the times, but it was also timeless

Gurudev contemplated a system of education which would synthesize the most cherished values of Indian life with the highest ideals of world culture.

He designed the Visva-Bharati as an institution where the distinctive culture of Bharat could attain its fullness in the culture of the *Visva* (Universe).

To Gurudev, Visva-Bharati was more than just a university. He envisaged it as a great meeting place for individuals from all countries. Indeed it attracted sensitive minds from many parts of the world.

Gurudev lived at the height of our nationalist upsurge and was wholly in tune with it. With Nehru he shared the spirit of universality and like him used his creative influence to wean India away from narrow nationalism.

Convocation Address on 24th December 1966.

The Poet was proud of being an Indian while aspiring to be a universal man.

He conversed with the sages of the dawn of our civilisation, yet he walked in the modern age He combined the eternal and the immediate He reconciled the universal with the local.

Speech on 24th December 1967.

Gurudev was a pioneer, a breaker of new ground, a seeker of new truth. He wanted the individual personality to develop in close harmony with nature and with national traditions. But by tradition he did not mean that we should blindly accept all that was associated with the past. He fought and wrote against all that was becoming outmoded, all that had ceased to have relevance to our contemporary being.

Convocation Address on 15th February 1969.

SANTINIKETAN

Visva-Bharati is based on the old idea of the *Ashram* (hermitage) where there was far greater companionship between the teacher and the taught. It is situated in idyllic surroundings which make a difference, evoking a feeling of communion with nature It attempts the integration of the different subjects of study, the humanities and the sciences combining so naturally with art and music.

Convocation Address on 24th December 1966.

When one comes to this quiet, enchanting place, one is tempted to regard it as an escape, to forget the problems of the outside world in remembrance of Gurudev.

Convocation Address on 15th February 1969.

Santiniketan is certainly growing and changing, and yet it retains a quality of gentleness, as if the beneficent spirit of Gurudev Tagore was still present.

To come to Santiniketan is a pilgrimage. It is a place honoured by the memory of a father and a son who sought to understand the meaning of life Maharishi Devendranath chose Santiniketan as the heaven of his meditation. To Gurudev Rabindranath, it was a symbol of fusion between contemplation and action, of the endeavour to find harmony in the increasing complexity of life and of civilisation returning to its roots—to the lap of rural life, enriching it and at the same time drawing life from the roots.

A familiar mango grove here recalls memories of my student days here, perhaps the only relatively calm period in my life.

Convocation Address on 9th February 1970.

Thoughts on Dr. Zakir Husain

In electing Dr. Zakir Husain as President of the Republic, the people of India honoured themselves. During his short tenure, he added lustre to this high office. Perhaps, more than any single individual he stood for the unity of this country in every sphere of life. Combining in his person the richness of the composite culture of India, he raised the standard of our public life by his words and his action. The values he cherished, the constructive work he did as educationist and social worker, the distinction he brought to every position he held in national and international fields, will guide generations to come.

Dr Zakir Husain was the last of a generation which grew to greatness not merely because of involvement in the struggle for Freedom but because of the high sense of mission which inspired it. He was not just a follower but a pioneer, imbued with new and creative ideas. In response to Gandhiji's call he dedicated almost four decades of his life in nurturing the educational institution which he founded in Delhi. It was his belief that we are the inheritors of the best in our own tradition and also of all that is finest in the achievements of man.

Dr. Zakir Husain never lost interest in people especially the young and the creative. He was keenly sensitive to their thinking and their problems. He retained a remarkable capacity of communication with them and encouraged their attempts at self-expression. Love of beauty in all its forms permeated his life. Nothing was too small for his care. He took special delight in painting, old as well as contemporary, trees and flowers, rocks and stones.

Tribute paid on 3rd May 1969.

Dr. Zakir Husain was a wise guide to our people. He reflected the best in the heritage of civilized man. He was an unusual amalgam of steadfastness and gentleness, representing the finest flowering of the composite culture of our country.

It is rare to find so integrated a personality as Dr. Zakir Husain's. His life was rich and varied. Every visit to him, every conversation with him, was an enriching experience. That was the feeling of most people who met him. He was a learned

It is the only instrument capable of securing economies of large-scale work, without generating the evil consequences of economic concentration. Modern science and technology have to be adopted in agriculture and industry to ensure that the output, quality and cost of production are the most satisfactory and the consumer is well served That is why our anxiety to end economic concentration is matched by our search for an adequate alternative which would preserve economic viability.

We must do all we can to foster the people's faith in the co-operative movement.

Speech on 8th Apıil 1971.

CO-OPERATIVES

Co-operation is an ideal instrument for rural development. In the Government of India, co-operation is part of the same Ministry which looks after agriculture, community development and food. But co-operation has a vital role in urban areas as in rural areas.

The so-called advanced countries assıgn a major role to co-operatives. Therefore, I feel, they fulfil a more extensive economic function than we are normally aware of. In most European countries as well as in the United States, co-operation is the ruling principle of agriculture. In Japan, co-operatives are a big force.

The co-operative way ıs a civilised way of working, providing as it does the means of dininishing large-scale ownership by individuals and groups, but without sacrificing the advantages of big units essential for the application of modern science and technology. The co-operative thus bridges the gap between the small unit and technology.

We need much greater participation by co-operatives in banking. In our country, banking has largely remained the preserve of the affluent,

at any rate of the middle class and above, not only in its control, but even in its reach. It has cared more for the big man than the small man. Only rarely do we find the common people having recourse to banks. Lately, agricultural co-operatives in some areas have begun advancing credit against an approved production programme instead of the security of land.

Our co-operators should devote more attention to the consumer movement. The utility of consumer co-operatives is not limited to the fight against rising prices. We have another fight, hardly less important which is that for quality. Co-operatives can ensure quality in what is produced much better than private trade can

A well-run co-operative banking programme can finance a large number of small entrepreneurs, such as graduates who want to set up small industries, etc Co-operative banks can also attract small savings, especially if they go to the people instead of expecting them to come to them, waiting long hours and filling forms.

Co-operation enshrines the principle that the social good is supreme. It is because co-operation is a form of social control and also helps the common man that the Government is committed to promoting the co-operative sector. We want this sector to become more powerful. At the same time, it should develop internal strength and safeguards, simplify its procedures, and widen its base by increasing its membership. It must not allow a handful of people to dominate its decisions.

In our strategy of development, we want growth and greater equality. We want to prevent concentration of economic power. That is why we must help the public sector as well as the co-operative sector to grow, both absolutely and in relation to the private sector. Co-operatives combine the

good points of both the public sector and the private sector. They give a voice and sense of participation to the ordinary man. They are based on voluntary union and democratic control. At the same time, they can take full advantage of modern large-scale management.

There is the general belief that the co-operatives help the bigger people rather than the small people. Such a state of affairs would defeat the very purpose of the Co-operative Movement. Secondly, our co-operatives seem to have become far too dependent on financial aid from the Government. This is a negation of the basis of co-operation which is self-help and self-reliance. Thirdly, there is also a widely prevalent feeling that co-operatives are too mixed up with politics. I find that you are discussing how to de-officialise the Movement. I wish you would also discuss how to de-politicalize it.

Speech on 2nd December 1967.

CO-ORDINATION

It is most essential for social welfare institutions to co-ordinate their efforts to improve whole localities and areas. It is equally important for closer co-ordination in Government Departments and those who work in the fields of education, health, family planning and so on

Speech on 17th February 1970.

COUNTRY

What is the country except a collection of many millions of families.

Speech on 11th November 1967.

COURAGE

It is all right for young people to say, in moments of inspiration or excitement, that they will lay down their lives for the country. If need be, we certainly will have to risk our lives for the defence of the

country But making the country strong does not demand such an extreme sacrifice. What is demanded of our youth is the preparedness to face hardships and a measure of moral and physical courage. The young people have to nourish this courage in their hearts and to express it in their thought and action Only then will our people be willing to come with us, and our society will recover the strength to move forward.

Speech on 11th June 1966.

Without courage you cannot practise any other virtue.

Whenever you take a step forward you are bound to disturb something. The young people must have the courage to face this.

You have to have courage of different kinds. You must have intellectual courage to sort out different values and make up your mind on what you think is right for you. You must have moral courage to stick to what you think is right, no matter what comes in your way, no matter what the opposition—not only from your enemies but also from your friends, which is much more difficult to face. You must also have physical courage because doing what you think is right is sometimes full of hardships.

Speech on 6th June 1967.

Through the ages, man has struggled against vastly superior forces. The one constant has been his indomitable spirit. He has pitted his puny frame against Nature. He has fought against tremendous odds for freedom, for his beliefs, for an idea or an ideal. Endowed with such a spirit, will man abdicate in favour of the machine or bow to the dominance of tyranny in new garbs ? Men have been tortured, men have been killed, but the idea has prevailed.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

CREATIVE THINKING

Our thinking on capacity and production has been somewhat static. We can ill-afford under-utilised capacity. But capacity itself can be stretched through productivity, through technological improvements, through economy by the use of cheaper or more readily available substitutes as well as by reliance on modern codes and specifications. It is disturbing that, although we are not unaware of these possibilities, there is a hiatus between our knowledge and its translation into action. Many of our administrative and management practices stand in the way of prompt and efficient realisation of concrete benefits from creative thinking.

Speech on 3rd January 1969.

CRITICISM

We are good at general criticism, the splitting of intellectual or ideological hair, as it were. But finding solution to actual problems is quite another matter.

Broadcast on 4th September 1966.

Constructive criticism is always welcome.

Speech on 10th May 1969.

CULTURE

All true cultures are integrative.

Speech on 28th September 1968.

Culture cannot be imposed from outside but must develop from the people themselves.

Speech on 3rd January 1971.

CUSTOMS

Any civilization collects customs which become outmoded with changing conditions.

Speech on 11th December 1966.

CYNICISM

To-day one of the greatest obstacles is cynicism of our intelligentsia because no matter what is done they always look at it as something that is of no account. And this opinion is reflected in our Press and it does have an influence on the people. In fact one of the strange things that have happened in our Press, of course, is entirely divorced from the people. They do not express what the people as a whole think but this has happened to most, in fact, all our political parties I do not think that there is any single one which I would say has really kept itself in touch with the people's thinking and on the whole I think it is a bad thing. They should be in touch with what the people are thinking. But what is good thing is that the people have not remained where they were They have gone ahead regardless of the political parties. There is a momentum in the country which nobody can stop—none of the politicians or intellectuals or anybody else.

Speech on 13th December 1969.

DECISIONS

There are times in the history of every nation when its will is tested and its future depends on its capacity for resolute action and bold decision.

Few decisions satisfy everybody.

Broadcast on 12th June 1966.

Governmental decisions and policies are apt to be judged by individuals according to their own pre-occupations Within the same party or organisation there are different approaches and evaluation.

Speech on 15th March 1969.

Decisions are sometimes delayed because they must be governed by reasoning, argument and the interplay of regional and national considerations.

Speech on 10th May 1969.

In politics one assesses the situation and takes a decision only after an assessment of what the results are likely to be.

Speech on 17th March 1971.

DEDICATION

Life has meaning only through dedication to great causes.

With dedication must go knowledge and judgment.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

DEFECTIONS

All of us who have the well-being of the country and of democracy at heart cannot but feel a deep concern that representatives elected on a particular party platform and on a particular party ideology should, with such ease and facility, cross over and re-cross without even making the effort of explaining what political principles were involved in such defections. I think, it is pointless to apportion blame as to who started this, and when and how and where.

Speech on 8th April 1967.

DEFENCE OF INDIA

If there is aggression on our borders, we will meet it with all our might. I have full confidence that the honour of India is safe in the hands of our Armed Forces. Let us not forget that we have a responsibility too. Our officers and *jawans* are bearing hardship and are prepared to sacrifice their lives to protect the territorial integrity of India. We should also be ready to bear hardship and make sacrifices. We should keep in view our objectives.

Speech on 15th August 1967.

DEGRADATION

Nobody can be degraded except by his own actions; no country can be degraded except by the country's own behaviour and action. And being poor or weak in the way we are poor and weak is not degrading. It is not a good thing and we must change that state of affairs. But by itself it is not a degrading thing. If because of our poverty and our economic condition and our lack of military or other strength, we were to allow ourselves to give up what is in the national interest, that would be degrading.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

DEMANDS

We are faced with demands which are far in excess of our ability to meet them This is so because the industrial revolution, which could have given these and other things that the people are asking for, is far from complete. This is a circumstance created by history. We have no control over it. So in such a situation, what do we do? Do we just sit down and say that things are difficult, that things have gone wrong, that nothing can be done?

Speech on 6th June 1967.

DEMOCRACY

Democracy has existed for a long time in many countries; but the manner in which we have brought it in India—with adult franchise in such a vast country—is something very new to the world.

Speech in Parliament on 4th August 1966.

Democracy implies choice. Choice involves alternatives. It is a healthy sign that alternatives are emerging and competing.

Broadcast on 15th March 1967.

We chose democracy with open eyes knowing that it is the longer process. We were convinced

that the longer road is often more reliable than short cuts.

Asia Magazine, 19th July 1968.

Our progress is dependent on national unity, on peace and on economic and political stability. We have witnessed political changes in our country recently. The prophets of gloom in India and abroad predicted that our democracy would collapse. But the soundness of our democratic structure has been fully vindicated. The Indian electorate is fully aware of its democratic rights and I have every hope that it will always exercise these rights with discretion and for the national good.

Speech on 15th August 1968.

The people are sovereign, and if their outlook is superstitious and tradition-bound it will surely be reflected in the country's administration and politics. Thus, the inculcation of a scientific temper among our people—and this includes politicians, administrators, managers, farmers, workers, students and, of course, scientists themselves—is of primary importance. It is not enough for this temper to be cultivated in our laboratories, class-rooms and offices; it must permeate our homes, the market place and the village square.

Speech on 3rd January 1969.

The functioning of democracy should be judged not merely by the size of the electorate, or the percentage of people exercising their franchise, but by the faith which they have in representative institutions.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

It is only if the people themselves are strong that democracy can ultimately be protected. It can never be protected by a few people, however much they believe in democracy, however much they want it. It can be protected if the

large masses of people are committed, if they feel involved in the issues and they are determined to protect their democratic rights.

Speech on 13th November 1969.

The concepts of democracy, of socialism and of secularism are not yet clear in the minds of our people. We see in a growing number of people, and sometimes in young bright people, the desire to take a shorter cut, to try and reach our goal more quickly, not realizing that no matter what path we take, what steps we take, they all require a price to pay. It is a question of choosing how much or what type of a price we are willing to pay.

It was after considerable deliberation that we chose the path of democracy—not because it is the quickest path, perhaps it is not, but because it is the path which helps the people to grow to political maturity. And we felt that that was most important for our people—for them to feel involved in what is happening in the country, to participate in the development of the country. This can only be done if they have certain choices open to them. And this is a system which gives them that choice. But democracy, as all other systems, has its dangers. And to-day we see the danger of the majority in some places trying to, or wanting to, change certain minorities.

There can be no democracy if you are looking backward. There can be no democracy if you have a communal outlook and you have barriers between man and man, citizen and citizen There can be no democracy if you do not have socialism because democracy and inequality cannot co-exist ; democracy and injustice cannot co-exist. A society in which somebody is thinking of himself as higher and somebody else as lower, is not true democracy You can give it anything, any name you like. But that is not the true meaning of democracy

Democracy can work only if each person becomes a soldier in making democracy real to the people.

Speech on 21st May 1970.

We do not think that democracy means merely the casting of votes at election time, but participation of all sections of the people in the whole process of development and progress, no less than in political decisions. We do not think that democracy can have meaning for the people without socialism.

Speech on 5th June 1970.

I am deeply committed to democracy, because nothing can be done without the full support of the people. Now how can anybody get the support of the people if they do not feel involved and I think only democracy can make them feel involved.

Interview to Dr. Gisela Bonn, German Journalist.

I think it is clear from my words and my actions that I am for democracy—unqualified and unchallenged democracy—in the country as a whole, in every State and within every part of the country. Any doctrine or system which encourages a few to think that they are better than the people or they can order about the people at large, is repugnant to me.

Democracy cannot mean that there should be parties which think that one group or one religion is superior to the other. This is what Hitler had followed. His theory of one race being superior to another took Hitler's Germany to its logical conclusion and to the detriment of the country. In India, in the name of democracy and socialism, parties are overdoing democracy and socialism.

We are a democracy. We have to persuade people rather than compel them. We have to bring about a change in the outlook of people through education and persuasion.

DESTINY

We ourselves shape our destiny.

Convocation Address on 24th December 1966.

The individual is no longer content to entrust to others the shaping of his destiny; he wants to be the master of his fate. So also with nations, which, while co-operating with others, wish to develop and progress according to their own genius and tradition. The question is vital for developing nations, which still have time to chart their course. The method they use and the directions they take will determine their goals.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

Fate itself is moulded by character and by action.

Convocation Address on 10th February 1969.

Each nation must mould its own destiny. It cannot live with a borrowed heart.

Convocation Address on 15th February 1969.

DETERMINATION

No nation, when it makes up its mind to do a thing, and do it unitedly, can ever fail.

Speech on 7th November 1966.

DEVALUATION

Devaluation is not a magic cure. It does offer an immediate corrective to some of the distortions which had crept into the economy. The increasing disparity between Indian and international prices was one such element.

Devaluation is a means. It is not the end of the road.

Broadcast on 12th June 1966.

I feel that devaluation itself is no more than a device to penalise all those who patronise anything

which is not *swadeshi*. What does devaluation mean? It means that foreign currencies become more expensive.

We did not think before, nor do we think to-day, that it is a magic cure; that just by the act of devaluation all the ills will be cured and the prices checked.

Devaluation by itself is not solely responsible for any increase in prices which may have taken place after it except, of course, in the case of imported goods.

Devaluation, if tackled the right way, and if the correct follow-up action is taken, will immediately enhance the export prospects of infant industries and indeed pave the way for exporting new commodities. It is in this larger context that we should appraise the devaluation decision.

Speech in Parliament on 4th August 1966.

Devaluation is no instant remedy. It is no more than an instrument with which to promote further development and create conditions for greater self-reliance.

Broadcast on 4th September 1966.

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The newly independent and developing nations will be liable to strains and pressures until they attain a minimum level of development and enter a stage of self-sustaining growth. The major effort in this regard must be their own. But the developed nations cannot evade their responsibility to accept and adopt fair trade practices

Speech in Parliament on 2nd November 1966.

The question before the advanced nations is not whether they can afford to help the developing nations, but whether they can afford not to do so.

Speech on 1st February 1968

While industrial nations naturally use their resources to improve their technology, developing nations do not have even the means to borrow it. Even so, modern technology offers to the developing nations the possibility of avoiding the earlier stages of development and thus overcoming the challenge of poverty

Speech on 1st February 1968.

Developing nations have their special problems, and there is much scope for co-operation amongst themselves Some problems are common, but the conditions in each country differ, and the same remedy cannot be prescribed for all. Those who seek to advise us seldom realise that we need new and different answers to our problems. We need solutions which are suited to our conditions, not imitative theories or techniques grafted from outside. We must make our own analysis of developments and how to deal with them.

The affluence of the industrialized nations itself attracts and exerts a certain pull on the more fortunate sections in the developing countries, further sharpening the difference between aspirations and their fulfilment. This in turn leads to the alienation of the elite from the rest of society, because they are attracted by the glamour of catching up with their opposites in the advanced countries while their own society cries out for bread.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

The difficulties before the developing countries are still very great. And we can face them not merely by idealism, not merely by sentimentalism, but by very clear thinking and hard-headed analysis of the situation

Speech on 31st August 1970.

DEVELOPMENT

Design for development should avoid the more dehumanizing effects which tend to accompany urban and industrial growth.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

As those on whom is cast the great responsibility of guiding the affairs of the country at this stage, we have to realise that to bring about ordered progress in the country, we cannot yield to the temptation of enjoying transient popularity either with the masses or with organised vested interests, of surrendering to short-sighted views in matters of vital importance concerning our development. Such surrender would only cause delay and place difficulties in the way of our self-reliant progress Spontaneous support, whether by way of acceptance of certain tasks and obligations or sacrifice of narrow self-interest, will not be forthcoming for the measures which may be necessary without sufficient education and understanding of the very complex issues involved.

To develop the country, the Government, both at the Centre and in the States, must have sources of revenue; but if people, even those who greatly benefit from development, are not willing to pay taxes, what is the way out? Is our effort adequate for our development? The savings of the community, which represent the 'effort' put into development and are a token of our concern for the future advance are very low. Should capital formation be supported entirely by such poor domestic savings?

Speech on 1st December 1967.

One of the main tasks before the nation to-day is to make the farmer contribute to development and not seek only to benefit from development.

Convocation Address on 10th February 1969.

The development of any country is the product of its own distinctive history and developmental process.

Convocation Address on 15th February 1969.

The greatest need to-day is to increase the tempo of development and this is the only answer to the problems which are confronting us—unemployment, under-employment, unutilised capacity in industry, development of backward areas and backward sections of the community. We must increase the outlays on development taking care at the same time that there is reasonable stability in price level.

Speech in Parliament on 8th May 1969.

Surely, development in one direction does not preclude the future possibility of exploration and evolution in other directions. But for this to come about, there must be a conscious effort far greater than ever made before, for such development may well mean a fundamental change in the very nature of man. The gains will not be the familiar and tangible ones in terms of material goods but the deeper, more satisfying ones of understanding and compassion. If any item of consumption is in short supply, what is there to prevent us from replacing it or adapting ourselves to something different? From this viewpoint, the future becomes one of vast potential. And if this is possible, it means that no one need fight or compete with another for the sharing of limited resources.

Man's expanding knowledge and power render largely obsolete the scarcity logic on which much of the world's planning and programme are based. To-day we can undertake undreamed of tasks. Can we then afford to live or think in compartments and to function within the limits of narrow specialisation?

The greatest need is for a comprehensive readjustment of our thinking and our attitudes. We must break the many artificial barriers which separate man from man. We must strive to build a way of life which treats all man, whatever their race, religion or caste, with dignity and respect. We must be committed to the welfare of all humanity.

Speech on 19th January 1970.

Peaceful development can come and will come only when the larger interests of India are kept in view.

Speech on 24th January 1970.

DICTATORSHIP

Dictatorship can be only a short-term phenomenon. It provides a short cut, but life proves that short cuts create more problems than they solve. The path of democracy is long and arduous, but the democratic process itself educates; so, we have adopted the path of development through consent and co-operation.

Interview on 19th March 1968.

DIFFERENCES

Whatever our differences, I know that at heart we all have a common interest—the well-being of our patient, thoughtful, courageous people.

Broadcast on 15th March 1967.

Disagreements and differences do exist in a democratic, changing, free society, but they need not lead to conflict. We can and should resolve our differences and disagreements through consultation, discussion and persuasion

Speech on 8th April 1967.

In a country as vast and as diverse as India, there are bound to be differences. In fact, we are proud of diversity; we feel that our diversity adds

richness to our national life. So we do not want to sink our differences, but we want to function in such a way that, irrespective of differences, our energies and enthusiasm find constructive expression.

Speech on 6th June 1967.

We welcome all initiatives towards the resolution of differences through negotiations.

Speech on 9th September 1970

DIFFICULTIES

Let us not be dismayed or discouraged by unforeseen difficulties Let us face them boldly. Let us learn from our mistakes and resolve not to let them recur.

Broadcast on 26th January 1966.

I believe in accepting difficulties as a challenge. Only that nation which accepts challenges can grow in strength. No nation has grown to greatness without facing hardships with courage.

Speech on 15th March 1969.

The people of India have been able to carry many burdens and will be able to carry many more in future We know that the inner strength that our citizens have, whether they are soldiers or civilians, old or young, will enable us to surmount all the difficulties that may come in our way.

Speech on 15th August 1971.

DISABILITY

A person may not be able to use his legs but he may be a good writer, a good typist, a good accountant It is necessary to awaken the conscience of society to the plight of these people and see whether we can help them to rehabilitate themselves.

Speech on 15th March 1969

DISCERNMENT

Discernment is not an inborn gift. It has to be cultivated.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

DISCIPLINE

Let us be strong, tolerant and disciplined; for tolerance and discipline are the very foundations of democracy. The dynamic and progressive society, the just social order which we wish to create, can be achieved only with unity of purpose and through hard work and co-operation.

Broadcast on 26th January 1966.

Next to food and education, the important thing is discipline.

Discipline is something that grows out of right thinking and cannot be enforced.

To have discipline among children, it is necessary to have discipline among the whole population.

Speech on 3rd April 1967.

In a democratic society, self-discipline is by far the most effective method.

Speech on 9th December 1967.

There is an authoritarian approach to discipline and a modern approach to discipline. Discipline used to mean unquestioning obedience to elders and power-wielders. In modern democratic societies, discipline is a form of sharing common ideals and of loyalty voluntarily given. It is a two-way process—the top layers reflecting and being responsive to the rank and file and the rank and file in turn supporting actions which are in furtherance of the ideals and objectives of an organisation.

Message to a Conference on 18th September 1969.

DISCOVERIES

The beaten track does not lead to new pastures

or fresh woods. The discoverer aims at making people think, and he cannot be content merely to please

Speech on 25th May 1966.

We all owe a lot to the discoverers. But the benefit of these discoveries must be available for all mankind at the lowest possible cost. Modern research needs large investments, but it is well known that, in the name of research, some firms charge exhorbitant prices for drugs.

Speech on 27th September 1966.

Science and technology themselves are concerned with change. That is why many institutes of science have departments which specialize in the history of science and technology. Historical studies provide an insight into the process of change, they suggest and spark off new investigation or re-investigation. The story of science is full of instances where ideas were not followed up at once, but someone else, years later, took them up. and made important discoveries.

Speech on 14th February 1970.

DISCUSSION

There has been a tendency in the Congress to stifle democracy, to stifle discussion. Those people who accuse me of being a dictator, or going towards communists or some others, are the people who have not welcomed discussion. Why do we ask for discussion? Because we feel it is the inherent right of the party—whether it is the party in Parliament, whether it is the members of the AICC, whether it is the members of the DCCs or the vast masses of primary members of the Congress, they have always to be taken into confidence, have to be given opportunity to express their views. And that is the only way that true democracy can function. Nobody who would like to have discussion and debate on these

issues can ever be dictator. It is those who do not wish discussion who can be called dictators.

Speech on 13th November 1969.

DISEASES

Most diseases are the product of poverty.

It is only economic development which can create a social administration which is capable of harnessing science to the task of conquering diseases.

Speech on 27th September 1966.

DISPARITY

It is incumbent on industrially advanced nations to help correct the imbalance created by the wide disparity between rich and poor countries and to implement the many suggestions made to prevent this gap from growing.

Speech on 21st October 1966.

We in India have sustained ourselves with a vision and a faith. We believe that the world, as it is constituted to-day, can never be peaceful or creative unless all nations can co-operate and contribute towards the solving of the greatest problem of our age—the problem of the growing gap between a small section living in wealth and splendour in the midst of dispossessed 70 per cent. of the human race.

Speech on 3rd January 1968.

The juxtaposition of peace and prosperity is not a contrivance for stating moral precepts. The two are indissolubly linked together. Without peace there can be no prosperity for any people, rich or poor. And yet, there can be no peace without erasing the harshness of the growing contrast between the rich and the poor. Unless we sense this urgency and use our energy to eradicate the econo-

mic causes which make for conflict, men and women will be impelled to revolt, and to use violent means to bring about change.

Speech on 1st February 1968.

Our effort has been to build democracy and to develop a technologically mature society. Each in itself is a formidable endeavour in a country of our size. Demands grow much faster than the means to fulfil them, but changes do not come about easily. Every step forward meets with impediments created by the forces of the *status quo.* Every step forward, even though intended to end inequality, leads to a phase where inequality becomes more obvious or new inequalities come into existence.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

Everywhere I went and in all my conversations with the leaders of governments and of intellectual life, I discerned intense concern with the two major questions before mankind to-day—the question of disparity between the rich and the poor, and the question of violence and peace. The second is somewhat dependent on the first, for it is such disparities which create tension.

Convocation Address on 15th February 1969.

Discrimination and inequality, whether economic or social, rob freedom of meaning and erode the very base of national unity. From the sacrifices of countless millions has grown the tree of Freedom. It has yet to flower fully and bear fruit We must tend it with care and be prepared to give even our lives in its defence.

Broadcast on 13th April 1969.

There have been agitations in several parts of the country, highlighting the political consequences of economic disparities Gone are the days when people were resigned to their lot and accepted the affluence of others as a decree of Providence. Each

individual wants a place for himself and rightly so. If he sees others get more, his impatience increases.

Speech on 10th May 1969.

We have to reduce the disparity between the high and the low, between the rich and the poor, between one section of society and another.

Speech on 15th August 1969.

When social disparities increase we have social tensions. When there are social tensions, problems of law and order, of instability and insecurity arise. So these problems of inequalities, of disparities, of meeting the rising expectations of the people, are all very much a part of the industrial scene. Unless we can deal with them we cannot even advance industrially. But the task is so enormous that all have a role to play. It cannot be accomplished unless everyone, every section, plays a part.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

In order to remove disparities and ensure more equitable distribution, all economic activity has to be subordinated to the social purpose. When distortions take place, corrective action has to be undertaken with decision and firmness.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

We, the citizens of India, have to see that we defend not only our own rights but also the rights of those who are not able to raise their voice. This is a responsibility not of the Government but of every citizen. We still suffer from the disparities and inequalities which have afflicted our society for centuries. These disparities gave us a bad name and weakened us. Removal of economic disparities is the responsibility of the State but it is the people who have to remove social inequalities. The great responsibility of uniting India and strengthening the country lies with the people.

Speech on 15th August 1971.

DISTINCTION

Distinction and achievement come from within, not only from extraneous factors but from what a person does to develop his potentiality.

Speech on 12th April 1967.

DISTRICT MAGISTRATE

The district magistrate is a key figure in Indian administration He or she heads all the officials in a district, which in India has an average population of one million.

Interview on 19th March 1968.

DISUNITY

Our experience during our struggle for Independence has taught us that it is our inner divisions which make us vulnerable, that whenever we have been united, our strength has been enormous, and that this does count, regardless of military force.

Speech on 17th November 1970.

DIVERSITY

Diversity adds to richness.

Speech on 11th December 1966.

DIVISIONS

Narrow divisions into caste or creed, into province and language, can only hurt and weaken our society.

Speech on 17th February 1968.

DOCTORS

The doctor does not live in a vacuum. He is pre-eminently a servant of society, and he is in touch with humanity and human problems, which are often enough psychological problems. This is a physical truth.

Convocation Address on 23rd March 1868.

Doctors must respond to the needs of the people, especially those in far flung areas, even if it means inconvenience and discomfort.

Convocation Address on 23rd March 1968.

DOUBTS

If the people are assailed by doubts and hesitation, difficulties will naturally arise. But if they are resolute in accepting the challenge the nation can face the external and internal dangers and march towards progress.

Speech on 15th August 1966.

DOWRY SYSTEM

We must realize the importance of curbing social waste Extravagance at weddings and feasts instead of dwindling is growing. The beneficiaries of development want to impress with their own success. The protest against the dowry, which used to be such a live topic in earlier days, has receded to the background even though the evil itself has not.

Speech on 17th February 1970.

DREAMS

Dreams cannot become realities, unless there are material factors by which we can implement them.

Speech on 2nd December 1967.

Dreams take a long time to fulfil. Between the dreaming and the fulfilment, there is a great deal to do; but who is to do it? Only those who will live to see the realization of their dreams, namely the young people of the world.

Speech on 21st July 1969.

EARTH SCIENCES

Some areas of scientific research which have hitherto been somewhat neglected will also have to be strengthened. One such is that of the earth sciences, such as geology, geo-physics, meteorology,

paleontology, hydrology and geo-chemistry. These are basic to the investigation, discovery and estimation of our natural resources. These earth sciences are good examples of how basic research could be related to objective-oriented research and could be undertaken to the economic advantage of the country and the scientific advantage of the research community.

Speech on 4th January 1970.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In economic development, as in other fields of national activity, there is a disconcerting gap between intention and action. To bridge this gap, we should boldly adopt whatever far-reaching changes in administration may be found necessary. We must introduce new organisational patterns and modern tools and techniques of management and administration. We shall instil into governmental machinery greater efficiency and a sense of urgency and make it more responsive to the needs of the people.

Broadcast on 26th January 1966.

Early stages of economic development are accompanied by considerable dissatisfaction.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

We need some kind of a movement to continue our fight for freedom. We are politically free but it is not a complete freedom, in the sense that we are still dependent for our economic advance.

Speech on 21st July 1969.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM

In India political freedom by itself has little meaning. It has to be defended against economic pressure. It has to be made meaningful by the possibility of a better life for the people. Therefore, development is vital to the maintenance of freedom.

Speech on 30th April 1966.

Throughout our nationalist struggle, freedom to us meant not only political independence but economic emancipation—emancipation of the country from foreign economic domination, as also the emancipation of the general mass of our people from the clutches of poverty.

Speech on 9th December 1967.

ECONOMIC PROSPERITY

Economic processes must be guided by a moral purpose and directed towards desirable ends by the political will of the international community. Otherwise only those nations which have inherited economic advantage from historical accidents can hope to achieve the maximum gains within the area of their political control.

Speech on 1st February 1968.

ECONOMY

It is through a reduction in costs, rather than by exploiting the consumer in a sheltered market, that industry can give an adequate return to shareholders who, in the case of public sector enterprises, have to be counted in hundreds of millions.

Speech on 12th March 1966.

EDUCATION

The responsibility for development and defence is not, and cannot be, that of the administration and the armed forces alone. If there is one section above all others whose concern it must be, it is our youth. They are the inheritors of the future. In all things the torch must pass to the next generation. So our future as a nation is bound up with our education and the calibre of our people. A country's human resources constitute its greatest asset. Attitudes and skills make a nation. Education provides the key to both.

The expansion of education at all levels is necessary to provide greater opportunity to the individual, and trained and literate manpower for the nation. However, general education for its own sake is not enough. We intend to lay stress on vocational and professional education. We shall also simultaneously transform the character of the educational system. It is clear that only then will youth respond to the challenge of development and advance.

Broadcast on 19th October 1966.

The quality of education must be reflected in the quality of life, in its value and grace, in the culture of the social and individual mind and not the least in our intellectual and technological competence to face and master the problems before us.

Education must provide the nation with good workers and good managers. More, it should provide thinkers and seekers of light. Education is much more than preparation for a career or a means of acquiring skills for particular professions. The best education is at once a means and a fulfilment. Teachers and students of universities should look upon their intellectual work as the function and expression of their whole being.

Education is not a compartment we enter in school or college. It is a continuing process from the minute we are born until we die.

When a person ceases to learn, he ceases to be fully alive.

Convocation Address on 24th December 1966.

Education is not, it is said, what a man knows but what a man is. But whether it is knowledge or personality we are after, it must be used for a higher aim—the welfare of our country.

Convocation Address on 10th February 1969.

Education and contact with other countries unleash pent-up expectations and give wing to dreams. The gap between one's grasp and one's reach generates greater competition. Despite many safeguards, the better off sections in any particular group take greater advantage of our schemes.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

Education is not merely an accumulation of knowledge, for knowledge can soon be out of date but a means of stimulating the capacity to think, to learn and to innovate and to apply knowledge in the interest of larger causes. When education was limited to a privileged few, people were mere consumers of thoughts of others. Now when we seek widest involvement of the people in shaping their destiny, the young must be encouraged to do their own thinking.

We have some universities which are a century old, but most of our universities have been established in the last two decades, in response to the growing yearning for education. Yet education is looked upon, not from the point of view of having better human beings, but merely as a vehicle for security of employment.

We must bring education to all parts of our country and all sections of our people, especially the weaker sections and those who have so far been under-privileged. But a mere quantitative growth will not prepare our people to overcome the many challenging difficulties of development, or enable them to cope with the fierce competition which is as much a part of our national life as of international scene.

In a transition stage, the expansion of higher education helps to overcome the barriers of caste and backwardness and thus, promote equality and mobility. But as other countries have done, we also

might have to give up the idea that everyone must go in fo rhigher education. For, the true function of higher education should be to improve the quality of the human being and the quality of his performance at every level.

Convocation Addresss on 14th November 1969.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Our educational system is in urgent need of reforms. What we do in this regard will mould coming generations. We must, therefore, give due thought to whatever we might propose doing. At the same time we must act boldly and soon.

Broadcast on 15th March 1967.

EFFICIENCY

When we look at other countries, whether they are capitalist countries or socialist countries, we find that those who have achieved notable progress are the ones who have laid the greatest stress on efficiency. These countries have been able to harmonize science and technology and to use in the fullest measure the young minds of the country teeming with ideas. While I shall need guidance and help from those who have the experience of long years of public work, I should like to invite the co-operation of our youngmen and women in shaping the future of the country which they will inherit.

We are proud that among those who have had the opportunity of being educated, there are a fair number who have achieved results in one sphere or another. This talent must not be allowed to go waste. Efficiency, therefore, must be the watchword in every sphere of activity, specially in public administration.

Speech in Parliament on 1st March 1966.

We find to our cost that, while there are some brilliant and intelligent people who can do any number or variety of jobs with equal success, there

are also others who cannot do so. We find that many of our services in the Government and outside have suffered on this account.

If we find that there is a good person for a job, we would naturally like to have his help. There are many Committees and Corporations in which these people are taken or brought as advisers and we find that it makes quite a difference.

Speech on 24th June 1966.

No person can hope to be an all-rounder, let alone omni-competent, but he should know the essentials.

Convocation Address on 23rd March 1968.

I believe in efficiency which is the avowed objective of scientific management. But life is not lived in compartments; efficiency which is divorced from the facts of life around us can create new problems. Any one who wishes to be effective as well as efficient must develop a social conscience and sensitivity to the needs of our people as a whole. It is an uncomfortable fact that technological development has increased the disparity between nations and disparity within our society. The industrial worker improves his skill and earns more, but the landless labourer remains where he is. The farmer whose land is irrigated avails himself of the credit and commodity facilities and uses the new inputs, but the 'dry' farmer continues to look to a stern sky. It takes time for skills to cover a substantial part of the population.

Convocation Address on 13th April 1968.

EFFORT

We are not perfect We make an attempt to do something. We do not always succeed, nor can we always succeed. We have taken up tremendous programmes. Whenever we have taken up these

programmes, the cry has been that these are too big and that we cannot do it. Yet we have tried to go ahead with our programmes. You cannot expect cent per cent success, but in a large number of things we have succeeded.

Speech in Parliament on 4th August 1966.

You cannot be a gardener if you collect only potted plants.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

The effort of giving one's utmost and the magnificence of the spectacle all round transform the physical endeavour into a spiritual experience.

It is where the effort is most exacting, that pleasure is keenest and success most rewarding.

Satisfaction does not necessarily come from success in reaching the top. It comes from the effort, from straining one's faculties to the utmost in a struggle with something stronger than oneself.

Foreword to the Book 'Nine Atop Everest', 21st March 1968.

ELECTIONS

Elections are a normal feature in politics. Once elections are over, however, it is only fit and proper that differences are forgotten.

Speech on 19th January 1966.

In a democracy, parties do grow up and do go down also. There is nothing strange about this. Yet we seem to get very excited every time a seat is lost here or gained there The non-Congress parties are not used to winning. So, naturally when they win, there is a great deal of excitement. We also are not used to losing; so, when we lose we also have a good deal of excitement. It is time now that we take democracy in our stride and welcome those who win and sympathize with those who do not win.

Speech in Parliament on 20th February 1969.

ELECTRICITY

There is no doubt that electricity will always be a basic element in any formula for progress.

Speech on 22nd November 1967.

ENDURANCE

Our people have faced innumerable difficulties with great courage and fortitude. This is not surprising. Our people have gone through difficult times in the past; they have faced many aggressions.

Speech on 15th August 1967.

ENERGY

Energies of our people are our greatest wealth, our biggest resource, and we must find a way to use it not in any narrow, sectional cause but in the cause of the nation and for the betterment of the people as a whole.

Speech on 11th June 1966.

ENGINEERS

Let us keep our eyes on the long-term perspective. Ultimately, it is better to have a sufficient number of engineers and technicians than to be starved of them. Capital and equipment can be found, but talent is more difficult to have. Trained personnel are difficult to find to run our industry.

Speech in Parliament on 23rd February 1968.

All over the world entrepreneurs come in large numbers from amongst engineers. In our country, even though we have laid stress on the basic and strategic industries being in the public sector, there is practically limitless scope for enterprising young men and women to set up industries.

Convocation Address on 16th November 1968.

Our system of education is not entirely related to our conditions and the needs of our society. Our

proclaimed aim of encouraging science has so far taken a quantitative form without bringing about basic changes in science-teaching. Even engineers and higher technologists unfortunately have the same condescending attitude towards manual work as our civil servants. Many engineers and technologists have to be re-trained to hold specific jobs. As our development programme regains the tempo which it had lost, some unemployed technologists will be absorbed. But the ultimate solution will be found when our centres of science and technology instil in the younger people the spirit of doing things with their hands and to discard the out-dated officer mentality and to seek new avenues of self-employment.

Speech on 4th January 1970.

We have to think in terms of integrating the planning of engineering and technical personnel with the perspectives of economic development. The planning of engineering manpower can sometimes go awry. There cannot always be reliable forecasts for the future. Unforeseen circumstances may hamper the execution of carefully drawn up Plans. Delays and inefficiency may interfere with time schedules.

The country and the Government are responsible for providing trained people with opportunities for productive employment. However, this responsibility can hardly be unilateral. In their turn, engineers themselves owe something to the nation which has invested precious resources in their training, in making them conversant with specific skills, and turning them into a special kind of the citizens. Since engineers are the key to basic capital formation activities, we cannot afford to lose them. Nor is it fair for them to expect their poor country to compete for them in international markets. They have to stand by the nation despite their current frustrations

and despite the fact that, in affluent countries, they might get a better price than India can offer in its present economic circumstances.

It would be futile to attempt to buy all the required skills and technologies from elsewhere. We can spare neither the funds nor the time. We need a generation of inventive engineers who will learn by doing and do by learning. There are instances where miracles have been worked in some countries by this method. For us also there is really no other way. Our engineers, technologists and scientists will have to keep their eyes open and their minds alert so that they know what is happening where, and can think constructively about the technological possibilities of adapting innovations elsewhere. Naturally they must keep in view our environment as well as our limited stock of our resources, including technical manpower.

Since Independence, Indian Engineers have played a vital role in national construction through the building of dams and power houses, through the erection of factories and other installations which are basic elements of national economy as well as of social welfare.

Planners and economists build models of growth, which are useful theoretical concepts. But it is the engineers who mould these models into coherent forms. Engineers belong to a wide spectrum from chemical technology at one end to social engineering at the other. No nation can develop without them.

Engineers are not only builders in steel and concrete but also builders of the nation. They can give expression to their intellectual processes and creative vision only when the nation itself is pulsating with life, and there is intense activity and construction all around. Such activity would be concentrated in laboratories and workshops, and also on roads, bridges and dams.

Previously engineering was looked upon merely as one aspect of construction, of erecting structures, laying roads, bridges and railway tracks. But as the economy grows and diversifies, engineering involves far more sophisticated activity. The destiny of engineering is thus inextricably linked with the future of the economy and the multitudes who make up the nation. An engineer cannot prosper in isolation.

Speech on 21st May 1971.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Why does English to-day occupy the position of a principal language? Why has it spread to so many countries of the world and has such a high status? Has English developed because it was the language of official work at the Whitehall? Or, did the English poets, writers, novelists and traders, who travelled to the far corners of the earth, develop this language? Let us not think that a language is built and developed by official work only, and that in the absence of such work it will die out.

I consider it essential that there should be a language to link us with the outside world. If to-day we want English, it is not as a national language or as a language which should take the place of Hindi or Tamil or Bengali or any other regional language. It cannot be so, nor is it anybody's intention that it should be so. But we do think that in to-day's world the absence of knowledge of a foreign language will weaken us and keep us backward.

English was continuing; whether we like it or not, English was continuing.

In actual practice we find that the majority of the people, be they Russians or of any other nationality, opt for English. Here, we have an advantage because we already have some knowledge of

English and also some arrangements for teaching it. These arrangements may not be so good to-day as they were before. The standard of English has fallen, and sometimes the English that is spoken here is peculiarly our own and perhaps may not be clearly understood in any other country. But despite all this, English is a link. Just as we need a national link, so also we need an international link.

Speech in Parliament on 12th December 1967.

English is fast becoming a world language; but to implement our policy of friendship and understanding with other people we need to learn many other languages of the world.

Convocation Addr on 14th November 1969.

ENTERPRISE

Within the framework of our Plans, there is no conflict between the public and private sectors. In our mixed economy, private enterprise has flourished and has received help and support from Government. We shall continue to encourage and assist it.

Broadcast on 26th January 1966.

Enterprise is perhaps the greatest of our national needs—enterprise in agriculture, in industry, in science, even in the matter of civic initiative in combating social evils such as communal friction and other types of tensions which arise from time to time threatening our unity, threatening our progress and sometimes threatening even our very survival.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

Our private enterprise is more private than enterprising.

Speech on 5th December 1970.

A good entrepreneur is dynamic and responds positively to challenges and he spurns aids and

assistance. He is driven forward irresistably by what Max Weber called a sense of 'calling'.

Speech on 10th April 1971.

EUROPE

Not all the investment for Europe's progress came from the sweated labour of European workers and farmers. It came also from the peoples of Asia, Africa and South America who were denied a fair return for their work and their produce.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

EVIL

Life is always a question of choosing between one evil and another.

Speech on 14th March 1970.

EXPECTATIONS

As literacy spreads, as modern communications and close contacts grow with affluent countries, new expectations and tensions are created.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

EXPERIENCE

Work-experience can be a bridge between manual and intellectual work, between hand and head, between town and country, between rich and poor.

Broadcast on 19th October 1966.

We cannot discard the greater values of our national experience.

Speech on 11th December 1966.

It is the sum total of our experience which makes us what we are.

Convocation Address on 24th December 1966.

EXPERTS

The use of the expert is a major problem in public administration. I have no doubt that our present administrative system uses the expert inadequately and indifferently. It gives undue weight to the generalist and persists with criteria of competence developed in times when the range of government decisions was very limited and was unrelated to the demands of economic management and growth. Also, in the absence of responsible governments, the official class developed a mystique both of infallibility and of transferability of talent.

Convocation Address on 18th November 1967.

EXPORTS

We must make every effort for the fullest use of our own resources in capital, in managerial skill, in technological talent, in indigenous material and machinery. We must at the same time make every effort to expand our export and to increase our earnings in foreign exchange.

Speech in Parliament on 1st March 1966.

If we want to eliminate our dependence on imported food and foreign assistance, we must not only produce more but export more. We must think not only of traditional exports but of newer exports. We are now manufacturing a wide range of machinery and we can now design, engineer and construct whole projects for overseas clients and supply on suitable terms the entire plant and equipment that go with them. There is nothing which cannot be turnd into an export product. Few exports have such a large potential for us as tourism which we must organise, assist and sell far more vigorously than before.

Broadcast on 4th September 1966.

There is the problem of a large deficit in our trade. Our imports are more than a thousand million dollars in excess of our exports. In the present international climate of aid and in pursuance of our policy of achieving early self-reliance, we must seek to reduce this gap quickly and ultimately eliminate it by following a vigorous policy of export promotion and import substitution, and keeping rational economic calculations in mind so that the nation takes the maximum advantage of its resources. As a substantial part of this deficit arises because of our dependence on the imports of food-grains, fertilisers, oil, metals and machinery, we must concentrate on the development of their production in the right proportion, taking into account the increasing needs of the future. Exports must rise and every reasonable support required for this purpose should be provided to bring the day of self-reliance nearer.

Speech on 1st December 1967.

Unless production keeps ahead of domestic demand, it will not be easy to maintain the momentum of our export effort. That is why in our industrial policy we propose to place increasing emphasis on production for exports. We should like our entrepreneurs to focus attention on increasing output and reducing costs.

Speech on 14th March 1970.

FAMILY ATTACHMENT

The family is the oldest social institution that man has devised.

The family fosters a sense of obligation which can be transformed into love of the land and love of mankind.

Speech on 11th December 1966.

FAMILY PLANNING

The Government is laying the greatest stress on the programme of family planning, because we realize that if sixty to seventy million people are added during every Plan period, we cannot hope to raise the *per capita* income or to improve standards of living satisfactorily. It is only if we make a determined effort in all these directions that we can accelerate the progress of the country.

Speech in Parliament on 1st March 1966.

We must press forward with family planning. This is a programme of the very highest importance.

Broadcast on 12th June 1966.

Educated women should regard family planning as their own problem.

Speech on 26th June 1966.

FARMERS

Everywhere farmers tend to be conservative and slow to change. But once they change they are not content to be indifferent converts. The discovery of a new seed variety stirs rural people as much as a space walk or a transplanted heart does the more literate classes.

The average farmer does not have money to waste. Nor can he afford undue risks. He will not experiment on his own unless he is certain that the experiments have succeeded elsewhere. It is because our demonstration programmes have been convincing that the cultivators have come forward in such large numbers to-day to use new varieties of seed and fertilisers. It is not the big farmer alone who has ventured forth. The small farmer's enthusiasm is even greater. To him even a little improvement goes a long way. In the new agricultural programme he sees the opportunity to fulfil his numerous small needs which have so long been

neglected. It is obvious that farmers will pay heed to the call for national self-sufficiency only to the extent that the programme makes a difference to their lives. How can we expect them to grow more for the nation if their additional efforts do not bring adequate reward to their own families?

Modern farming requires a better farmer. Productivity of labour will increase with new tools. New incomes are accruing in rural areas. In olden days if farmers got an unexpectedly good price for their produce, they thought first of buying a pair of bullocks, and then of repairing their houses. To-day they are also on the look-out for pumps and seed drills.

Speech on 10th February 1968.

Anyone who were to look at Indian conditions would know that there was no means of giving a better life to the villagers unless we had industry, unless we produced within the country the things which our farmers and our other groups in the country needed to improve their living standards. The only other way was to buy those things from outside which meant foreign exchange, which we did not have, and which meant dependence on other nations, which we did not want to have.

Speech on 13th December 1969.

FASCISM

I use the word "Fascism" with regard to what some people in our country are doing. I do not use that word lightly as it is sometimes used. We use the word Fascism and Nazism and we use the names of various dictators for anybody whom we think of acting in an authoritarian way. I do not use that word in a loose way. I use it with the very specific meaning that it has and from knowledge of what that system did in a particular country. It was not a vague use of the word. There are parties to-day

who think that one group or one religion in our country is superior. Now that is a facet of what Hitler said and what he followed. It was not just a question of saying. Many of us say things. But Hitler went out to destroy a whole community, millions of people, not by words but in actual fact millions were tortured and put to death. That is what it means when one uses this word.

Speech on 21st May 1970.

FEAR

Fear grips large parts of the world. Our Sages exhorted us to be free from that which made us afraid, anticipating by thirty centuries those famous words of our own times, that there is nothing to fear but fear itself. No people were so cowed down as my countrymen before Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene. India was able to wrest freedom because he taught us to overcome fear and hatred and to be absorbed in a cause which was greater than ourselves.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

FEARLESSNESS

We want truth to pervade all our actions. Fearlessness is an essential part of truth. We should be as fearless to-day as we were during the struggle for Freedom. We should not be afraid of making mistakes. We should not be afraid of making changes. We should be willing to adopt new paths and to imbibe new ideas.

Speech on 15th August 1966.

FIGHTING FORCES

I salute the officers and men of all our armed forces and those others who stand sentinel on our borders. We remember with pride and gratitude the sacrifice of those who gave their lives so that we might be safe.

Broadcast on 19th October 1966.

I have tremendous faith in the maturity and wisdom of the Indian people. I have confidence also in the valour and the very high patriotism of our fighting forces.

Speech on 8th April 1967.

FOOD

We must ensure food to our people. This is the first duty of Government. We shall give urgent attention to the management and equitable distribution of foodgrains, both imported and procured at home.

We shall try especially to meet the nutritional needs of mothers and children in the scarcity-affected areas to prevent permanent damage to their health. We cannot afford to take risks where basic food is concerned. Only greater production will solve our food problem.

Broadcast on 26th January 1966.

We must do everything possible to attain self-sufficiency in foodgrains within the shortest possible time. This, I realize, depends not only on the fullest utilisation of traditional resources but also on the application of modern methods of agriculture. Fertilisers are the most important ingredient in this strategy. Some concern has been voiced about the terms on which foreign capital participation is permitted in setting up fertiliser plants. While we must do whatever we can to secure the best possible terms, we must realize that it is better to buy fertilisers from factories in India using Indian labour, Indian raw material and a good proportion of Indian capital than to buy it from abroad.

Speech in Parliament on 1st March 1966.

Our food problem is a part of the general and greater problem of poverty. For dealing with the problem of poverty it is essential to have stability

and order. There can be no development without tears and hardships. Unless we can prepare ourselves and our people to undergo hardships and difficultiess, we cannot go ahead ; we shall only be slipping back from where we are.

Speech on 7th November 1966.

FORCE

We condemn every form of domination of one country by another, the attempts to divide the world and the use of force in the settlement of disputes.

Speech in Pai liament on 2nd November 1966.

I am one of those who abhor the use of force in any circumstance. But when there is incitement to violence and when violence leads to acts of defiance of law, to arson, looting and destruction of public property—valuable property such as transmitters, railway equipment and other things, some of which are very difficult to get again—then there is no other way ; it can only be met by force. This is what, unfortunately, is happening—violence leading to force, force leading to more violence, and more violence leading to more force.

It is true that whenever force is used, some innocent people also suffer. It is something which unfortunately cannot always be helped. It is something which I deplore. My fullest sympathies are with those who get hurt in this manner, and we must do all we can to help them. But when there is a large crowd, it is not possible to distinguish as to who is innocent and who is guilty. If there is a *lathi* charge, the blow would fall on anybody who happens to be in the way.

Speech on 7th November 1966.

Sheer power seemingly prevails over principles, seeking obedience and demanding respect instead

of commanding it. Indeed, those who have attempted to eschew the use of force have had to pay the price of restraint.

If the use of force in international affairs is not renounced, and the rights of nations and the equality of races are not respected, how can tensions be reduced or the dangers of conflicts avoided.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

FOREIGN AID

We are taking foreign aid and we may have to take it for some more time. But aid is not charity. We will take it only if we can do so keeping in view our self-respect and principles We take aid in a spirit of co-operation. We ourselves are giving aid to many countries and shall continue to give aid to those who stand in need.

There is some misunderstanding because of the word 'aid'. It is a misleading word, because a large part of aid is by way of loans which we repay and have been repaying. Besides, the real objective of taking foreign aid is the ultimate elimination of such aid ; it is taken only to help us to stand on our own feet.

Speech in Parliament on 1st March 1966.

India looks at foreign aid as a temporary expedient to help us over a certain period until we can stand on our feet.

Speech on 22nd March 1966.

Unless we increase agricultural production rapidly, control our population, and thus achieve self-sufficiency in the next few years, we will have forfeited our right to call ourselves a free country, let alone a great country. We must become self-reliant. Aid and help should be a temporary phase.

Various governments and private organisations all over the world are sending us large quantities of milk-powder, vitamin tablets, baby-food, etc. These generous gifts are meant for children, pregnant and nursing mothers, the aged and the disabled. The utmost vigilance should be exercised to ensure that these gifts reach the people for whom they are meant. We should give no occasion for any complaint in their distribution

Speech on 9th April 1966.

As for foreign aid, I am all for getting more foreign aid until we stand on our feet economically. Our Plans were so framed as to require more and more foreign aid until a particular stage. Then it was to stop. Many people say that this was not our policy some years ago and that it is going against Nehru's thinking. This is not correct. I know what he thought. Until we become self-reliant, I do not see any loss of prestige in asking for more aid.

Speech on 25th July 1966.

Why should we be frightened of friendly foreign assistance which can accelerate the pace of development ? At the same time we should not idly wait for it either. We can and must conserve and utilise our own resources.

Broadcast on 4th September 1966.

We cannot take aid for granted, nor are we prepared to seek aid at any price.

Speech on 7th November 1966.

Those who look upon development assistance as repayable charity will inevitably miss the expected gratitude from its beneficiaries. Those who view it as investment to earn political support or to collect dividends or to promote trade will be disappointed with the meagre returns.

Speech on 1st February 1968.

Aid is only partial recompense for what the superior economic power of the advanced countries denies us through trade.

We welcome any genuine form of international co-operation for the development of under-developed areas. At its best, foreign aid represents such an endeavour. But can it not also be legitimately described as a form of enlightened self-interest on the part of aid-giving countries, especially when it is tied with the purchase of equipment and of know-how from donor countries ?

Speech on 14th October 1968.

Transference of capital and technological resources from the developed countries to the developing countries can be a means of accelerating the pace of development. However, the terms and conditions of such transference and the concepts governing international aid and development need closer scrutiny.

Stated simply, the issue is whether international aid is to remain primarily an instrument of national policies of the donor countries, or whether it becomes a part and parcel of genuine international co-operation for development.

Like all developing countries, India would like to see the whole pattern of international trade and aid in a new perspective of international co-operation.

International aid, as conceived and administered, has produced disenchantment among the recipients as well as among the donors.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

Although we get many essential things from other countries, at no time has this forced us to change our policy in any manner at all. We have stuck to whatever we believe in and the world has

respected us for it. So, when United States or Soviet Union helps us either through financial credits, which are wrongly termed as "aid", or by enabling us to produce industrial and defence equipment, we presume that they do it out of their own national self-interest. But our own national interest compels us to build up our economic and defence strength with the help of whoever is prepared to help us to do so and to help us to stand on our own feet. Therefore, we will not allow ourselves to be led away either by the anti-Soviet hysteria or by anti-America hysteria.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

We are painfully familiar with the pitfalls of "aid", in which the bulk of credits are tied to purchases from donor countries, and with the fact that a big portion of new credits goes to the repayment of old loans. But the question is : Must we endlessly wait in the hope that some day the developed countries will undergo a change of heart and acknowledge that disparities in the world are not in their own interest ? It would be unrealistic to expect miracles of magnanimity.

Speech on 9th September 1970.

FOREIGN COLLABORATION

I do not rule out foreign collaboration, provided it is strictly to achieve quick results or to acquire know-how which we might not have. But collaborations should not be resorted to as easy short-cuts. The private and public sectors are equally culpable in this respect. It is here that we recapture the vision and dedication of the pioneers, and draw inspiration from their spirit of *swadeshi.*

Speech on 9th December 1967

Inventiveness and the use of indigenous materials and skills must be encouraged. With a little more confidence in the proven abilities which have

been developed in the country, there would be less need for collaboration. We cannot do without importing know-how and technology, specially in the comparatively new industries but dependence on collaboration is bad, for it diverts us from our own effort and encourages people to take the easy road.

Convocation Address on 13th April 1968.

Some people favour the import of foreign know-how to hasten the speed of industrialization. Developed countries often advise us that it is more profitable to buy technical know-how from them, rather than to re-discover it through expensive research, development and our own effort. By this they usually mean that we should accept imported turn-key factories and plant. This is not as simple as it sounds. Imported know-how also becomes obsolete at a later point of time unless it is accompanied by a continuous effort at modernizing and upgrading it. There is a wide gulf between the transfer of know-how and the sale of equipment. A turn-key factory obtained through foreign assistance is not a transfer of technology but a transfer of equipment. Most countries do import foreign know-how through licensing and other agreements.

Speech on 4th January 1970.

FOREIGNERS

Outsiders tend to see India as a museum.

Foreigners are not the best judges of what is happening in India, neither in what they admire nor in what they criticise.

Asia Magazine, 19th July 1968.

FOREIGN GOODS

All over the world a certain glamour is attached to things from outside and foreign brand names are more in demand. In India the craze for foreign

goods may be one of the side effects of our old colonial past. This psychology of inferiority is an obstacle in our rise to the top.

Convocation Address on 13th April 1968.

FOREIGN POLICY

The principles which have guided our foreign policy are in keeping with the best traditions of our country, and are wholly consistent with our national interest, honour and dignity. They continue to remain valid.

Broadcast on 26th January 1966.

Foreign policy is our first defence, for it seeks to make friends and avoid war.

Foreign policy must be based on an intimate knowledge of and feeling for current international developments.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

The best defence of a nation is its own nationalism and its economic strength. We have no desire whatever to use our defence forces for any purpose beyond our borders except for international missions of peace.

Asia Magazine, 19th July 1968.

The policies of a country are motivated by its national interests, which are conditioned by its heritage, traditions and the requirements of its people. Foreign policy is a reflection of domestic pre-occupations. Can we not pursue our national objectives by identifying them with certain collective interests and by pursuing them in co-operation with others so that we can benefit from the endeavours of the community as a whole? We think this can and must be done. Our foreign policy of peace and co-operation, based on co-existence and non-alignment, is directed towards these objectives.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

We find that in the making of the foreign policy of any country, and perhaps specially of India, there are certain intangible elements which are just as important or decisive in forming our point of view. It is perhaps easier to pursue foreign policy and fashion our relations with other countries if one is a rich and a powerful nation. Now India is not a rich or a powerful nation, and we have to keep that in view. It is no use going as we are. But we have made up for our lack of riches and power with some other quality.

We are used to criticism of our foreign policy because any independent path is so much more difficult to pursue and so much more difficult for people to understand than if we follow some beaten path.

Basically, what do we want from our foreign policy? What is the ideal we pursue? Is that ideal divorced from the practical interest of the country, or is it allied with it? As it happens, our ideal and practical interests are the same. No Government can afford, however idealistic it may be, to leave or neglect the practical interests of the country. We have believed—and we do believe now—that freedom is indivisible, that peace is indivisible, that economic prosperity is indivisible. And these are the fundamentals on which our foreign policy is based, both inside the country and outside.

Foreign policy has to be based on one's historical and geographical background. That is, we see the world from where we are. Other countries see the world from where they are. So we cannot possibly see it from exactly the same angle. We have certain countries for our neighbours. So it is important what relationship we have with our neighbouring countries. If we are a long way from other countries, we can look at them from different angles.

The great attack to-day, the greatest weapon which is used against foreign policy, is to say that in effect we are following the Soviet line. Perhaps they think their saying so will frighten us into trying to give up our friendship with the Soviet Union. Perhaps they merely think that they will be able to blow up the image of Independence which we have amongst our own people and amongst the world. Let us be very clear that, regardless of what our big newspapers say here, the image of India is very clear outside It is not an image of a country which follows any group or country; it is an image of a country standing or trying to stand squarely on its own feet.

Foreign policy cannot be divorced from a country's internal policy. Any country, any Government, any political party must decide what it believes in, and all its policies must then flow from this basic conviction or belief. What is our foreign policy? Some people take the word "non-alignment" and think that is the whole of our foreign policy. In a way it is not the word "non-alignment", but what non-alignment stands for, namely that we believe in independently judging all issues. We do not wish to be tied to any group or to any country.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

Our foreign policy has been a policy of peace. We do not rattle our sabres and we do not want war. We do not raise slogans which will hurt others. But why? It is because we know that our true power lies in our people. It lies in our strengthening the country, fortifying its economy and improving its social conditions. This is what is being done with great endeavour. We do not threaten any one nor are we scared by any one's threats. In our hearts we know that India can face

any emergency and that whatever may happen, we will face it with courage and determination.

Speech on 15th August 1971.

FOREIGN TRADE

Many traders operate on margins very much lower than in other countries. At the same time, I know that in some sectors of imports, the profits available to importers are disproportionately large. Many must be conscious of the inadequacies of the commercial set-up, as it now obtains in our country, to meet the challenges of the seventies. I doubt whether our importers are always able to buy from the best source or to use our buying potential to advance our national interest. Similarly, our capability to take advantage of expanding export opportunities needs to be built up. It is our policy to use the public sector to make good these deficiencies and to induce and organise individual initiative, so that we can develop our foreign trade along efficient lines and to the best national advantage.

Speech on 14th March 1970.

FORESTRY

Cutting down of forests has affected the climate of places.

Speech on 8th July 1969.

Much as I would like the landless to have land, it is very important for the country also to have a certain amount of forest land, and we must keep this in view. In the distribution of land this point should be kept in view that the minimum amount of forest that is necessary should be left, because that will affect our finance and many other things, and ultimately the population as well.

Speech in Parliament on 5th September 1970.

FREEDOM

To millions of our people mere political freedom has not brought prosperity, nor can it do so unless

we translate political freedom into social and economic security. We shall, therefore, continue to devote ourselves to the task of building our economy so as to improve the living standards of our people.

Speech in Parliament on 1st March 1966.

Nobody has ever been able to suppress for long the ideals of freedom and justice.

Speech in Parliament on 31st July 1966.

Freedom awakens hope. It generates consciousness of economic, social and political rights.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

Freedom is the starting point for effective economic self-government and planned progress.

We regained our freedom after long hard years of suffering and sacrifice. Naturally our concern must be to preserve and strengthen it and to give it content. So we are not prepared to abdicate our judgement of right or wrong in terms of our own assessment, or to abandon our right of action as a sovereign nation.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

We have stood for the freedom of all countries. Even when we were not free, when we were in no position to help other countries, we went out of our way to give them whatever moral and other support we could. And I know that that moral support was welcomed and it did help these countries. To-day we have the same stand.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

The spirit of freedom goes hand in hand with the spirit of equality.

Speech on 9th September 1970.

FRIENDSHIP

It is important to realise that friendship is always better than hostility.

Speech on 18th October 1970.

FUNCTIONS

By insisting on having inaugural functions, we force people to make speeches. If I had my way, I would ban most formal functions for I personally would rather spend the time in meeting and talking to engineers and scientists

Speech on 21st May 1971

FUTURE

We are concerned with the future we make for our children and other's children, but we should be equally concerned about what the coming generations will think of us Let us so live and work as to leave behind shining memories.

Convocation Address on 13th April 1968.

GENERALIZATIONS

The tendency to make sweeping generalizations is very greatly prevalent, perhaps everywhere. We can only see the situation in our country. And the tendency to see a subject or a particular issue superficially without studying the background is also rather prevalent among the oppressed and other sections of the people here Therefore, it is important to go into each subject in some depth.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

GOLD CONTROL

Gold control is a long-term measure of social and economic reform. The inflated social value attached to gold has encouraged ostentatious display, smuggling and the piling up of useless hoards. Let us not be slaves to gold. Let us invest gold productively in order to create more wealth for the country.

Broadcast on 4th September 1966.

GOOD AND EVIL

Much in Life is not wholly good or wholly bad. It is merely a convenient habit to categorise the

world into these watertight compartments. Good or evil, help or harm, depends on the user.

Speech on 13th April 1968.

GOVERNMENT'S DUTY

The task of the Government is to supplement the people's efforts, to mobilise and make available the resources ; to provide a blue-print and a plan ; and to ensure that the enterprise and efforts of millions of people have a well-defined aim and that they bear fruit. In the Indian situation, the Government have necessarily to perform the negative task of preventing vested interests from monopolising all the gains.

Our people do not expect magic from the Government and the leadership. They do expect and they are entitled to, hard and honest work and intelligent and unrelenting pursuit of practical programmes

Speech on 8th April 1971.

GRACE

Live creatively and strive for grace.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

GRIEVANCES

To seek redress of grievances is natural.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

GUIDANCE

If you do not give guidance, people are resentful, and if you give guidance, they are even more resentful. You have to somehow find a way so that guidance is there and yet it is not obvious. It has to be subtle and it also has to change along with the area, because certain areas are backward and need more obvious guidance So, it is very much a question of having a 'feel' of the people, of their genuine needs and how they can be met. Obvious-

ly, we cannot meet all their needs, but if we can give them an impression that we are sincerely trying to solve things, then our people have the patience to wait and to do whatever is necessary in the waiting period.

Speech on 24th June 1966.

HANDICAPS

As far as handicaps are concerned, each one of us has some handicap or the other. Some handicaps are more obvious and others are not. But each one of us has to face our own individual, personal handicaps. And, life itself is always a challenge. Of course, for those whose handicap is obvious, it is a greater challenge. But we know—that greater the challenge, the more the inner resources a person finds to meet the challenge. And we have seen this in countless cases.

Speech on 8th October 1969.

HAPPINESS

It is not surprising that the youth of the affluent countries have discovered for themselves the truth which our philosophers had proclaimed thousands of years ago that there can be desolation in the heart of prosperity, and that happiness lies not in what one has but in what one is. In many of these countries the young and the sensitive are searching for a call of the spirit. Some of them are looking to the East even as our own young people are turning Westward

Convocation Address on 9th February 1970.

Happiness is a very big word. I do not think it consists in material possessions, in having more of what we want. I think happiness comes when you know you are doing the right thing, that you are devoting yourself for a cause bigger than yourself, that you are doing something which will bring some solace and succour to others.

Speech on 17th March 1971.

HARMONY

If harmony with nature is essential, how much more so is it to live in harmony with oneself. Of all beings, man alone seems destined to be a generalist, to have an integrated all-round personality. Life is one and ever-flowing, each activity overlaps the other. One does not cease to learn outside the college hours. Games require as much concentration, tension and discipline as any work. One works best when one is relaxed. A part af us is awake in the deepest sleep and perhaps a part is asleep in our working hours. If I would give any advice, it is this, no matter what you do, however small or big the task, do it with joy and interest, seeking not for what you can get out of it but how much of yourself you can give to it.

Convocation Address on 9th February 1970.

HEALTH

It is only when you have a good health that you can have an alert mind.

Speech on 22nd May 1971.

HIMALAYAS

Himalayas have inspired poets and philosophers, sportsmen and saints.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

Through the ages, India's thinkers have been inspired by the beauty and majesty of the Himalayas and by their sacred associations.

The Himalayas have shaped our history ; they have moulded our philosophy ; they have inspired our saints and poets. They influence our weather. Once they defended us ; now we must defend them.

Foreword to the Book 'Nine Atop Everest', 21st March 1968.

HINDI LANGUAGE

A matter which arouses great emotion is langnage. We had no desire to impose Hindi on the

South. Our view is well known. We believe that all our languages are national languages and are of equal status, and any of them can be made the official language if a State so wants. But it is important also for all of us to be able to understand each other, and this was the reason why we felt that one language should be a national link language. We have given a solemn assurance that English will be retained at the Centre as an associate link language so long as it is deemed necessary.

Speech in Parliament on 5th April 1967

We need a link language and it is for this purpose that our Constitution-makers suggested Hindi. Knowledge of a language has to grow; it is a gradual process which takes time.

Speech on 8th April 1967.

I am fully aware of the difficulty experienced by those whose mother tongue is not Hindi. Some of our South Indian friends have said that Hindi is a language which is not developed. Well, unless people learn it, speak it and help it grow, how will it develop. We, therefore, invite them to lend a hand in developing Hindi. A language can develop only through constant use, not so much in Government offices, but outside in everyday life. It will grow if more and more people write in it and books of other languages are translated into it

Persons belonging to non-Hindi-speaking areas are faced with this problem : how will they fit into the new picture that will be evolved as a result of the progressive learning of Hindi and the gradual increase in the quantum of work to be translated in Hindi ? A solution was found, according to which arrangements could be made for teaching Hindi to those who do not know Hindi and for providing translations so that no one feels any difficulty. You all know that when such a compromise solution is evolved, it meets with all-round oppositions as it

does not satisfy any of the groups completely In an effort to reach a compromise, it becomes necessary to take some points from both sides. Everybody thinks that this is not the right thing. One is helpless in this because everybody's demands cannot be met in full. What can be done is that a solution may be found which might partly meet the points of view of all.

I have only one aim My aim is to adopt a policy which will help in having a common link. There are some Parties in the country, and in the Parliament, who do not want a common link, and who say that all the languages should be allowed to function without a link. This is dangerous. If it happens, the country will be Balkanized and its unity destroyed. That is why we want to make Hindi a connecting link, and that is why we want Hindi to progress. It, therefore, pains me when I find anyone taking a step or doing something which interferes with the progress of Hindi and weakens its utility and acceptance as a link language for the people of India.

Concrete steps will be necessary to see that all our countrymen are able to learn Hindi and we are able to make this language a link between us.

Speech in Parliament on 12th December 1967.

I can say for myself that the Hindi that is now spoken here is for me an entirely new language, and I have had to learn it anew

Speech in Parliament on 23rd February 1968.

HISTORY

History is neither an inventory nor the static past: it is a chronicle of change, an explanation of how and why change occurs.

Speech on 14th February 1970.

The process of history is relentless. No matter what we do, we cannot flout it, else we shall be

bypassed and left behind. That is the danger in clinging to earlier conclusions reached on the basis of premises, which are no longer relevant. The more we harp on old problems, the further we move away from our real context.

Speech on 10th April 1971.

HOME

Your home is the one place where you can make your own rules.

Speech on 11th November 1967.

HONORARY DEGREES

I used to be puzzled by the practice of universities admitting persons from the rough and dusty world of politics to the community of academics. I even took it to be the mocking tribute of learning to power.

Convocation Address on 18th November 1967.

HOPE

When we talk of shame or when we talk of failures, let us remember that the only thing that counts in the world—no matter how down you are, how poor you are, how broken you are—is hope and confidence.

Speech in Parliament on 4th August 1966.

HOSPITALS

Hospitals and medical colleges must play a greater role in preventive medicine. There should be a close relationship among teaching, medical administration, public health services and research.

A good hospital is like a great tree casting a giant shadow of protection, as the cathedral or the temple was in the Middle Ages.

Convocation Address on 23rd March 1968.

HUMAN AFFAIRS

Human affairs are extraordinarily complex. In trying to unravel them and to advance our understanding of them, we naturally begin to translate the unknown in terms of the known. We try to comprehend things in terms of our own predilections, preoccupations and interests. This is perhaps natural; but if we are interested in seeing the whole truth, we should make allowance for the distortions which are inevitable when one examines reality in terms of a special stand-point.

Speech on 30th March 1968.

A politician sees issues in terms of his own discipline. So does the economist and the scientist. The task of creative thinking is to ensure that analyses of human affairs, even when conducted from a specialised angle or interest, are not put forward as examples of final truth. In this, it is necessary for each one of us to have a feeling of involvement in the total process of change and development.

Speech on 30th March 1968.

No system is perfect, but we have to realize that no economic solution can ignore the social or political context. To allow a haphazard growth of productive forces and to wait for the satisfaction of human needs in God's good time is not an answer to the problems which confront us.

Speech on 15th March 1969.

HUMANITIES

Those who deal with fellow human beings need the insight which only a study of the humanities can provide. There is another reason why a good engineer cannot afford to be without education in economics, sociology and other social sciences. An engineer is the creator of wealth. He introduces and administers modern methods of management;

here, there are two yard-sticks of assessment—economic costs and benefits and social costs and benefits. These two must be delicately balanced.

Convocation Address on 16th November 1968.

HUMAN MIND

Man's most valuable resource is his mind and it is only through education, in the widest sense of the word, that the mind can be trained to its fullest capacity Unfortunately, most of our education does not look at each mind as changing and growing and with an individuality of its own. If at all we think of the mind, it is as a receptacle for the storing of facts or attitudes.

Convocation Address on 14th November 1969.

The growth of man's mind has been marked by the ability to discover and utilise newer sources of energy.

Speech on 19th January 1970.

HUMAN WELFARE

The need to leap-frog over certain phases of technical development is well recognised. But is it not equally important to avoid the harmful effects which industrial and urban development has caused in other countries? As scientists, technologists or even ordinary citizens, we must think not of exploiting human or material or natural resources, but of employing them with discernment and imagination to derive maximum benefit for human welfare and to ensure that the inevitable changes in living conditions and the environment do not despoil nature, or create a sense of alienation in the people. The discipline and order of a modern society must have the flexibility to allow for the full blossoming of different personalities and of the strengthening of their inner resources.

Speech on 3rd January 1971.

IDEALS

To go on believing in an ideal because it has been there for centuries is a kind of laziness. We have to look at every ideal, every value, with a questioning mind in order to understand its relevance to contemporary problems and needs We should accept only those values and modes of action which will bring strength to our society The rest we should reject or modify It is this continuous revaluation, this continuous modification, that distinguishes a live culture from a dead or dying culture.

Speech on 11th June 1966.

Ideals and values are timeless

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966

Throughout history, men and women have sacrificed themselves for ideas and ideals, and have risen to great heights at times of great difficulties

Speech on 9th December 1967.

I do not think that pragmatism can be divorced from idealism All countries must base their progress on some kind of principles There can be no future if you do not do that. Wherever one is merely taking a short-term view, that brings struggle.

Speech on 24th January 1970.

IDEAS

A free flow of ideas is essential to progress. Our political life needs to be enriched by the entry of men and women brought up in the new and growing traditions of science and technology Intellectuals and politicians must get to know and understand one another's problems.

Convocation Address on 16th November 1968.

We need new ideas but let us not be swept off our feet by them. New ideas need also to be correlated,

so that neither development nor our lives nor Nature itself becomes unbalanced.

Convocation Address on 10th February 1969.

Dead or dying ideas not only obstruct change but can considerably harm individuals as well as nations.

Convocation Address on 14th November 1969.

IDENTITY

Even the universal has to find an identity of place and nationality, to find a local form and name.

Speech on 24th December 1967.

ILLITERACY

In nations where literacy is not yet universal, the printed word is apt to command more veneration than it does in advanced societies. Exaggerated claims or baseless accusations are given credence. Hence, what might be described as eccentricity elsewhere, could create misunderstanding and tension here.

Speech on 17th November 1970.

IMBALANCES

Certain regional imbalances arise out of the uneven distribution of natural endowments. You cannot move a river or a mine from where it is, but you can carry water from the river or more minerals over long distances. A dam or a factory benefits not only the region where it is situated but the country as a whole.

Speech on 10th May 1969.

Certain imbalances are inherent in the nature of development. How is it possible to move simultaneously all along the front? Economic growth cannot take place at the same rate everywhere in

the country. Nor can it be the same in all activities. Some imbalances emerge because in retrospect our judgment turns out to have been faulty. We are not omniscient and there is always the possibility of an inaccurate assessment of particular needs of the economy. The forecasts of even the best statisticians and experts often suffer from large margins of error. Demand forecasts may have been over or under-estimated. Expected supplies may not materialize on time. These are the hazards of economic programming.

The really irritating and unnecessary imbalances are the ones which are deliberately created. Imbalances between supply and demand in the case of essential goods are sometimes created by artificially starving the market, or by a deliberate diversion of resources from required areas or uses by powerful groups and individuals for use elsewhere. Not all businessmen indulge in such activities but even a few instances are sufficient to create an adverse impression on the public mind and in such a situation drastic remedies become necessary to restore some balance.

Speech on 10th April 1971.

IMITATION

To be creatively alive, society must mould the future out of its own experience. It must recognize the difference between mere imitation and assimilation.

Development does not mean imitation of the patterns of living of affluent societies.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

No nation can advance merely by imitating other nations And if we have to forge new paths we have to suffer for it. You get nothing free in the world at all, not even the smallest thing. Sometimes you are paying money—unfortunately the business

community has thought that you pay only in terms of money—but, for most things in life you pay in other terms also, whether it is freedom, whether it is democracy, or whether it is unity and integrity of the country.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

History cannot be made through imitation. Our transformation must flow from our own genius

Broadcast on 19th July 1970,

IMMORTALITY

Immortality, in spite of all the new medical miracles, does not mean physical immortality, but the survival and continuity of great ideas, ideas which liberate man from aggressiveness and narrowness of mind, from hatred and from fear.

Speech on 17th November 1970.

IMPATIENCE

Impatience and dissatisfaction sap our will to persevere.

Speech on 1st February 1968.

INAUGURATIONS

I am not happy about the tendency to turn to the Prime Minister to inaugurate every function of importance and to consider that a function which is not inaugurated by the Prime Minister is only of a second-rate importance. I feel strongly that other Cabinet Ministers as also people in public life outside officialdom should perform such functions far more frequently than they are at present doing.

Speech on 12th March 1966.

INDEPENDENCE

We do not think Independence is merely having our own Government. We feel Independence means that we make our own decisions. These may be wrong decisions, but these must be our decisions—

Indian decisions, keeping in view the future of India and not of helping some concern or the other.

Speech on 24th January 1970.

INDEPENDENCE DAY

There are certain historic events which leave a deep impress on the life of every individual. Our Independence is one such event. Independence Day has special significance for us because on this day we began a new life On this day, the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, unfurled the national flag from the ramparts of Red Fort. On this day, he lit the torch of freedom and laid the foundation of Independent India.

Speech on 15th August 1966

INDIA

Ours is an ancient country with a great tradition and heritage. There is something in this country which enables its people, for all their illiteracy and backwardness, to rise to the occasion when face to face with mighty challenges.

Speech on 19th January 1966.

Time and again, India has given evidence of an indomitable spirit. In recent years, as in the past, she has shown unmistakable courage and capacity for meeting new challenges. There is a firm base of Indianness which will withstand any trial.

Broadcast on 26th January 1966.

We have not only to defend India ; we have to make it.

Broadcast on 19th October 1966.

If you ask me which is the real India, it would be difficult to tell, because each part of India is different from the other ; each State of India is like a country ; and, within each State, there are

differences of language, of food, of costume and of standard of living.

Speech on 11th December 1966.

India has the privilege of being the world's largest composite society, and the home of many great and ancient faiths.

Speech in Parliament on 22nd December 1967.

The heart of India is strong and its limbs are sturdy.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

India is a country of many complexities and contradictions. No matter what one says can be true of one part of India or another and yet be untrue for India as a whole. And one of the reasons, perahps, why there is not better understanding of what we are doing or attempting to do is that most people who come to India and even the reporting that is done on India is done about a scene or incident isolated from the historical perspective or from the larger image of India.

Speech on 13th December 1969.

INDIAN CHARACTER

The Indian character is such that people see things in extremes. If something is good then they will praise it to the sky ; if it is not good, then they think nothing can be worse.

Speech on 13th December 1969.

INDIAN CIVILIZATION

A civilization which has retained its distinctive characteristics for 3,000 years is not likely to be easily shaken by other civilizations.

Through its long history, India has suffered many invasions. Probably no country has received a greater variety of racial, linguistic and cultural influences ; India has felt strong enough to adapt

and Indianize all foreign influences. The end-product is unmistakably Indian and there is a strong core of Indian-ness in us all.

Interview on 19th March 1968.

INDIAN CONSTITUTION

In India, we have already the widest democracy, the widest franchise ; we have equal rights for all people—men and women—and trade union rights. These are exercised and asserted at a time when our economy is still developing.

Speech on 30th April 1966.

There are three basic principles which will help us in reaching our goal. These are not new principles. These have been part of our ancient culture. Our freedom struggle, under Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru, was founded on these principles. These principles are embodied in our Constitution. We often talk about these principles but we have yet to make these an integral part of our lives. The first of these principles is the principle of secularism, of unity, of co-existence of different philosophies and faiths. Without this unity, we cannot realise equality; we cannot bring about socialism, which is our second basic principle. Secularism and socialism are essential for building a truly democratic society. Democracy, thus, is our third principle. Secularism, socialism and democracy are really inter-related values or concepts. Without one, the others are not possible. We have to work for a fuller realization of all three together. Only then shall we be able to make our people strong and to take our country forward.

Speech on 11th June 1966.

Our Constitution has grown out of our experience.

The development of any country is the product of its own distinctive history and developmental

process. A Constitution which is another word for the regulation of relationships among the people of a country, has to grow out of its own soil. Our own Constitution has grown out of our experience. In external form it may have incorporated features from other Constitutions, but its breath is that of Mahatma Gandhi, of Gurudeva, of Deshbandhu Das, of Jawaharlal Nehru, of Subhash Bose and of the people of India who aspired for equality and justice.

Convocation Address on 15th February 1969.

The Indian Constitution is federal in nature, making for the fullest development of regional personality within the ambit of national unity, and clearly demarcating regional and national functions in administrative matters. This does not mean that differences do not arise between States, or between the States and the Union, but we have the machinery to resolve such differences.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

What do we see when we look at the world around us? It would not take us long to discover that many an institution has collapsed, many a constitution has been scrapped because it ceased to be an effective one for orderly change.

That our Constitution and our democratic institutions have survived, when all around us there is a climate of tension and violence, is a tribute to the faith of our people in democratic ideals and also to the flexibility and responsiveness of our Constitution and our political institutions, to the urges of our people.

Our Constitution was drafted on the fundamental assumption that our people owed unalterable allegiance to the principles of democracy. This faith in our people permeates our Constitution.

Speech in Parliament on 4th August 1971.

INDIAN CULTURE

Know your tradition and culture, for only then can you judge what must be kept and what weeded out, what is energizing and what is dead weight.

You cannot belong to the world unless you belong to your own culture and your nation.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

It is true that modern technology is affecting an increasing number of countries. As a result the world tends to be more alike; but this is so only outwardly. Modernisation and industrial development need not lead to de-Indianisation. Human nature will insist on cherishing its differentiating features more jealously and resist the tendencies towards uniformity. We do, however, wish to take the best of other cultures, so as to strengthen our own development and capacity for meeting contemporary situations.

Interview on 19th March 1968.

Indian culture has had a great capacity to assimilate ideas and make them its own.

Speech on 28th September 1968.

From the earliest times, the spirit of Indian culture has been one not of negation or exclusion, but of assimilation and synthesis.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

INDIAN LANGUAGES

The complexities of our language problem become a barrier to communication at every level whether between teacher and student or in the examination hall.

Broadcast on 19th October 1966.

We must strengthen and develop all our national languages and give due attention to the task of producing inexpensive books and translations in

millions, so that they become vehicles of knowledge and culture, and keep abreast of the progress of science and technology.

Broadcast on 15th March 1967.

The language question arouses deep emotion. But it should not become a divisive force. As far as the Centre is concerned, we view all languages listed in the Eighth Schedule as national languages. They are the cultural streams that together constitute the grand river of Indian thought and tradition. The neglect of them would be untrue to our great heritage

Speech on 8th April 1967.

What do you want when you say "down with that language". It is not really that you want to 'down' that language but perhaps you feel that because of that language your own language is not coming up as much as it should. Therefore, the way to solve that problem is to see what you can do for your language.

Speech on 6th June 1967.

Sometimes we think that a particular view is beneficial to the people at large. But there are people holding other views. In this matter we have to carry the people with us. We cannot ignore the views of others. We have to find a solution which is acceptable to all, and which does not weaken our democratic structure or our national unity. The question of language generates emotion and anger. If a proper solution is found, language can become a force for national unity and national progress.

Two years ago, our leaders put forward a proposal that education up to the university level should be in the mother tongue so that the benefits of education could reach everyone and the talents of the people could find a natural outlet. Can we achieve this? Even a good proposal sometimes

contains the seeds of danger. It is feared that this proposal might encourage separatism. This proposal could prove beneficial if there is a link language which can bind the people together and thus help maintain national unity. Similarly, there is need to maintain links with the world. We cannot afford to live in isolation in the present-day world. It will prove harmful to our interests. Therefore, there should be three languages—the regional language, a national link-language and an international language. We have to keep in view the difficulties of the people in the matter of language. We have to consider how the difficulties of the various parts of the country can be minimised and how they can be helped in every possible way. No one should have the feeling that something is being thrust on him or that impediments are being put in his path.

Speech on 15th August 1967.

In our country, there are fifteen languages. It is not suprising that we should have so many languages, as our country is so much bigger than many other countries. We are now making every effort to see that all our languages get a chance to develop, that the people of different areas receive education in their own languages, and that the business of a State is conducted in the language of its people. I think there are no two opinions. But the business of the Centre cannot possibly be conducted in fifteen languages, however dear they may be to us and however great a regard we may have for them. It was, therefore, felt that one of our languages should serve as a national link, and Hindi was chosen for this purpose.

Indian languages were suppressed under foreign rule. It was, therefore, natural that during the freedom struggle and after we became independent, our people should have a special sentiment for their languages and should be keen to promote them. It

is not a question of sentiment only. It is important for the country that our languages should develop.

Next to religion, language arouses the strongest loyalties and emotions.

Speech in Parliament on 12th December 1967.

India has more major languages than any other country and each has a long and rich literary history

Speech on 17th November 1970.

INDIAN MEDICINES

There is a saying that the herb that grows in our own backyard is no medicine. There is a tendency to look to others for remedies. But in true development, one must make the best use of resources which are at hand and are easily available.

I am convinced that the Indian systems of medicine, as they are called, have continued utility and a bright future.

Speech on 14th February 1970.

We represent an ancient tradition which has had an unbroken continuity of nearly 3,000 years. Through the centuries this tradition has influenced the countries around us. In turn we have also imbibed elements of Greek and Arab medicine and more lately we have been influenced by the modern medicine which has grown out of the scientific discoveries of Europe and America.

Speech on 7th November 1970.

INDIAN MENTALITY

I know the Indian people well enough to be confident that as long as they feel that we are going in the right direction, even if we are slow, they are with us. It is only when they feel that we are definitely going in a direction which is not to their advantage or which is favouring some men or others that they look to other methods. Therefore, our

effort must be all the time to see what the needs are and if the situation is changing one, how far we can change our methods and even our aims to some extent. It is a mental attitude to which I am referring.

Speech on 30th September 1969.

INDIAN OCEAN

We would like the Indian Ocean to be an area of peace and co-operation. Foreign military bases will create tension and great power rivalry.

Speech on 9th September 1970.

INDIAN PEOPLE

I have great confidence in the people. And I have no doubt that whatever happens, they will come at the top. And that is what matters.

Speech on 13th December 1969.

The people of India may be poor or illiterate. But such has been this land of heroes and such has been its history that we have to-day no reason either to retreat from the path we have taken or fear that this may not be the right path. We have only to keep one thing in view. Ours has been an old tradition of secularism and we have to remain firm on that.

Speech on 15th August 1971.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

It is a great disservice to the country to parade as Indian philosophy and Indian tradition things which are indeed contrary to that tradition

Speech in Parliament on 14th May 1970.

Our country is rich in its thought, in its philosophy, in its culture. But somehow we have not been able to project these outside, or even to all of our own people, perhaps because many of us look at these matters rather superficially.

There has been some interest in philosophy and the basic religious teaching. But to-day it is not merely the grey-haired who search for reality or the meaning of Being. Questions are being asked by millions of young people everywhere.

Speech on 4th June 1971.

INDIAN PRESS

In the days of our Freedom struggle, the Indian Press was a great weapon for our just fight. It must continue the unfinished battle of freedom by fighting sectarianism, provincialism, fanaticism and superstition, and above all, by fighting violence.

The Press is a public service rather than an industry. It exists to gather, print and broadcast information. It should do so as fully, accurately and with as little bias as possible It should aim at helping people to know more and so to judge better and decide better.

A free Press is a basic guarantee of democracy and a vigilant guardian of every right that free men prize. At the same time, it is for the Press to realise that freedom cannot exist without responsibility. It is for the more responsible sections of the Press to educate the erratic and adventurous section in the true functions of journalism.

Our Press has been built up by men of courage and high ideals, men who sought truth and made no alliance with authority It is not a coincidence that some of the great figures in the history of our journalism were also those who moulded and led the freedom movement and shaped the new India.

Speech on 1st February 1968.

Let the Press do its duty as it sees it. I do not ask it to be impartial, for that would itself be a limitation to freedom of opinion, but let it not be too obsessed with the ephemeral and trivial but take a longer and larger view of events. The Press has a

right as well as a duty to point out faults and to attack pettiness and hypocrisy. But let it not undermine the cofidence and spirit of the people by speaking only of the failures and not of the victories of the people as a whole.

Speech on 1st February 1968.

Before Independence the Indian Press played a very notable and distinguished part and was a potent instrument of progress. It quickened national consciousness, spread ideas of justice and equality between man and man, and between caste and caste, stimulated public spirit and set higher standards of public duty.

The real issue which Indian journalism faces to-day is not freedom of the Press to which we are unequivocally committed but what type of Press the country needs. Freedom of the Press becomes a somewhat arid concept when we find the Press is out-of-touch with people and events. Newspapers everywhere have cast themselves in a dual role : as "the High Priest" and as "the Great Informer". In India, if I may say so, the Press has allowed the first role to completely subordinate the second. It has become the self-styled inheritor of the Brahaminical tradition and its esoteric jargon.

The Press is indubitably an instrument of power. Assured of complete freedom of comment, to what end should this power be used ?

In a country with such widespread illiteracy, the vocabulary of the Press makes its message inaccessible to many people. Instead of relying on the power of their pen, a careful assembly of facts, detailed research and skilful interpretative analysis, sometimes one gets the impression that factual reportage is fast disappearing.

Despite freedom, the legitimate pre-Independence concern with politics has become somewhat of an obsession. It continues unabated and politicians, political news, gossip and intrigues remain the monotonous staple of journalistic diet

Just as the politician is subject to criticism from the Press, the Press expects a certain amount of criticism from the politician.

India has known great editors who have placed newspapers in the mainstream of national life rather than be content to wade in its stagnant pools. This requires intellectual boldness, moral courage, unswerving loyalty to certain well-defined ideals and values, a change of focus and new methods which will make newspaper not merely commentator on a narrow spectrum of events, but active participant in the whole process of nation-building and social change. Only so can newspapers become true interpretors between the Government and the people, informing, educating and influencing both. Only so can they acquire relevance and fruitful power in our contemporary situation. Only so can the potentialities of a free and alert Press be fully realised.

The Press has a vital role to play in a democracy and I would like to see it play this role fully and well. For obvious reasons, its responsibilities and challenges are far greater in an emerging nation-State, a pluralistic society and a developing economy than in the affluent countries of the West.

Ever since journalisms rise or perhaps fall to the status of a great industry, social consciousness has weakened. The Press is indubitably an instrument of power. Assured of complete freedom of comment to what end should this power be used ?

Speech on 5th May 1971.

INDIAN REFORMERS

In our religion we have had reformers and rebels challenging earlier beliefs and thus changing accepted values.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

We have never encouraged dual citizenship and have consistently tried to persuade people of Indian origin who have made their home in other countries to become full and loyal citizens of those countries.

Asia Magazine, 19th July 1968.

INDIAN SPIRITUALISM

It sounds romantic to talk of Indian spiritualism, but as a people we have more or less the same admixture of spiritualism and materialism as most others. In ancient times our people were great traders, sea-farers and ship-builders. They organised the world's most remarkable textile industry, and built great cities and forts Kautilya, who lived in the 3rd century B. C., wrote a book called the Arthashastra which anticipated Machiavelli in many respects Our people created the most elegant and urbane literature and produced sculptures known for their voluptuousness. Could they have done all this if they had been only spiritualists ?

Interview on 19th March 1968.

INDIA'S FUTURE

We have the panorama of Indian history behind us and we have the vision of a bright future ahead. Every citizen should ask himself what he can contribute to the making of a bright future for the country.

I have absolutely no doubt that we have it in us to achieve great things. But if we stray from the

right path, we will be heading towards ruin, and the sacrifices of the great sons of India would have been in vain. Let us draw inspiration from those who fought for freedom and kept the nation's flag flying.

Speech on 15th August 1966.

In the coming years, we must give new opportunities to our creative youth. We must promote initiative in government and industry, adopt the methods of modern science, and work for more flexibility everywhere. Only then can we respond to the needs of our people.

No mere 'ism' will help, not even pragmatism. We can succeed only if we have basic faith in our people and in our own abilities and if we have a clear view of the future.

Speech on 9th December 1967.

Let us not forget that we have a long road to traverse. I have no doubt that if we allow the path shown by our great leaders and hold fast to the principles laid down by them, we will be able to achieve our goal without delay.

Speech on 15th August 1968.

In everything you do, it should be your endeavour to effect the maximum economy, thus releasing scarce resources for other productive activity. To-day we must mobilise every paisa and every ounce of energy. We must work with dedication and above all, a sense of deep commitment to our country. Only thus can we ensure our future.

Convocation Address on 16th November 1968.

INDIA'S IMAGE

Image of India was not made in a day, nor does it have only one aspect. There is the timeless wis-

dom of our ancient seers. There are the great religious leaders who sought to lift life out of the layer upon layer of ritual, so as once more to reveal the philosophy of tolerance, compassion and non-violence.

Speech on 5th June 1970.

INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE

We could not guess when Independence could come and most of us did not dream to see it in our lifetime.

Speech on 5th June 1970.

INDIA'S LEADERSHIP

India does not wish to claim the role of a leader. It has been given to us to voice the feelings and opinions of resurgent Afro-Asia, but we have not sought any hegemony. Because of our size and geographical position and our resources in materials and men, we cannot but play a fairly large part in international affairs and that role will always be on behalf of peace. People recognise us as a power, even as a potential great power, but we have absolutely no extra-territorial ambitions either of dominion or of control over the minds of men. Any nation which speaks of global destiny usually ends up being a menace to the world.

Interview on 19th March 1968.

INDIA'S PAST

India's past is studded with achievements in the fields of science and philosophy and in other fields. India was an advanced nation and had provided leadership to the world. How can we forget India's glorious past ?

Speech on 15th August 1966.

Through the centuries a way of seeing and thinking, a way of living, has survived in this country. Invasions and wars have modified the traditional background and social patterns, but have not essentially altered the relationships between producer and consumer, between donor and recipient. This was because changes in tools and techniqes were slow and gradual—so slow indeed that we had centuries of virtual stagnation.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

INDIA'S PROGRESS

It is these things, many thousands of actions by individuals, organised groups, private agencies and the Government, which constitute self-reliance. It is united and constructive action in these many directions which will make India strong and prosperous, which will enhance its prestige. It is by these means alone that we will defeat poverty and move nearer our cherished goal of socialism through the creation of new wealth

Broadcast on 12th June 1966.

I have every confidence in India, in its unity, in its stability, in its progress.

Speech on 30th March 1968.

INDIA'S UNITY

The speculation on Indian unity is an old pastime. Some maintain that the British unified India. This is one of the half-truths propagated by half-historians The condition in which the British left the princely States when they withdrew shows that they did not unify India either by design or in a fit of absent-mindedness Real unity came through opposition to British rule, through nationalism and through the democratic process.

Asia Magazine, 19th July 1968.

INDISCIPLINE

When we talk of indiscipline among workers, I would like to say that industrialists and moneyed businessmen cannot escape responsibility. They cannot ensure discipline if they continue to make big profits and draw fat salaries. I would appeal to them to give thought to this problem and find a solution. We should be able to reduce the disparity between the rich and the poor. If we want our country to prosper, we should subordinate personal gain to the national good. We should develop a spirit of sacrifice. Our aim should be more production. Every section of the community should realize its responsibility to the nation. Then and then alone can we have discipline and devolution of responsibility We should also develop a spirit of co-operation.

Speech on 15th August 1968.

INDIVIDUALITY

As a people, we tend to be individualistic in our outlook, and perhaps our scientists and technologists are not wholly immune from this tendency, often preferring to work by themselves.

Speech on 3rd January 1969.

The problem for India is to preserve its own identity in a fast-changing world, in a world where we want to be basically Indian and yet not be out of step with progress and forward movement.

Convocation Address on 15th February 1969.

What happens to any particular person is not a matter of great consequence either to the Party or to the country.

Speech on 13th November 1969.

As the world becomes more uniform, man seeks an identity for himself. This individualism is not

the same as the old, for to-day it must harmonize with his social identity.

Speech on 4th January 1970.

Each country must develop its own distinctive personality which must be conditioned by its history and geography.

Speech on 5th June 1970.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Our inability to make the fullest use of the industrial capacity we have built is a matter of grave concern. We should greatly welcome the initiative and co-operation of industry to investigate the problem, to diagnose it, and to find a proper solution for it.

Speech on 12th March 1966.

In our fast-changing economy, we can secure balanced industrial development only by continuous study of the trends in demand in India as well as abroad and adjustment of our production plans accordingly.

Speech on 15th March 1969.

In a society where affluence and power are tiny specks in the vast sea of poverty, it is not unnatural that monopoly should attract strong hostility. Industrial development is regarded by many in our country as an instrument which has benefited only a few. The problem of the concentration of economic power will have to be dealt with *inter alia* by the adoption of suitable policies by our financial institutions. It is reasonable to expect that large industrial groups should raise a substantially larger part of the finance required for projects than is feasible in the case of smaller groups.

Speech on 15th March 1969.

INDUSTRIAL LICENCES

The broad approach to the reform of the industrial licensing system will also be set out in the Plan. The basic and strategic industries, which require significant investment and foreign exchange, must be carefully planned and subjected to licensing. Priority will have to be given to them in the allocation of scarce resources such as foreign exchange. When the foreign exchange needed for equipment or maintenance is marginal, and the interest of the small and village industries is looked after, there may be no need for industrial licensing.

Speech on 15th March 1969.

INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT

In many important respects running a Government is different from running an industry. Governments have to weigh the social costs. It is possible for business venture to be an island of efficiency in a sea of sloth. But a government has to think of all sections of the population and in terms of managing and altering a whole country.

Speech on 9th December 1967.

In a developing society, such as ours, management has an ever greater contribution to make. Development is a process of moving from a primitive or traditional technology to a scientific, modern technology. In every sector of the economy, whether it is agriculture or industry, whether it is transport or even public health, development consists of locating, processing and harnessing latent resources.

Convocation Address on 13th April 1968.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

We might differ amongst ourselves regarding the analysis of certain problems and their remedies. But what is more significant is the fact that industry and

government have a common concern in the development progress and well-being of this great nation.

Speech on 30th March 1968.

Our industrial progress is to some extent dependent on agriculture. Improved agricultural production has had a beneficial effect on our industry.

Speech on 15th August 1968.

In industrial location techno-economic considerations must prevail over others But at the same time, we must do all we can to redress the special backwardness of the less developed regions.

Speech on 10th May 1969.

A deterioration in the rate of industrial growth will lead to widespread urban unrest which will not make it easier for the private sector to register uninterrupted progress.

There is much that Government and Industry can do together, because Government and the business community are partners in economic progress and we cannot really afford to talk across barricades.

Speech on 5th December 1970.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

There is need to check the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few in the private sector I believe that by far the most effective means of checking these trends is to enlarge the role of the public sector and to upgrade its efficiency. The formidable managerial problems of the public sector need immediate attention.

It is legitimate for Trade Unions to champion the cause of their members, and it is not unpatriotic for workers to try to secure a large share in the fruits of economic growth. Similarly, the question of incentives for innovative enterprise cannot be completely brushed aside. At the same time, industrial

relations are too serious and important to be left entirely to employers and the employed. The maintenance of industrial peace is an issue in which the poor and the unemployed, who stand outside the serried ranks of organised labour and industry, have a vital stake. Indeed it is an issue of national survival.

I have been deeply anxious about the deterioration in industrial relations. Strikes, lock-outs and closures have become more frequent and less peaceful. One wonders whether those who speak for labour or for management always keep in view the larger picture of Indian poverty.

The increase in unemployment in the last few years, particularly among technical personnel and skilled workers, is directly traceable to lower investment. When you consider ways and means of improving industrial relations as a whole, please do give special thought to the evolution of a healthy and fruitful partnership between management and labour in the public undertakings, in which the nation has such a large stake

Speech on 20th May 1971.

INDUSTRIAL UNREST

I do feel that, as a counter-part of the dialogue between Government and industry and between Government and labour, there should be a dialogue between management and labour, so that the nation's resources are not wasted by industrial unrest or strikes

Speech on 12th March 1966.

INDUSTRY

For an infant industry, protection is a legitimate demand, but infants must grow up one day.

Speech on 10th April 1971.

INEFFICIENCY

There is laxity, waste and inefficiency in government, as it is sometimes in business and industry. We have to overcome these deficiencies by first recognising them.

Speech on 12th March 1966

INFERIORITY COMPLEX

One of the driving forces of freedom was that we should overcome the sense of inferiority bred by foreign rule and technological backwardness.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966

INFLUENCE

What does influence one, what moulds one and helps one to grow in a particular direction is what one sees around, how people are behaving, how they are thinking, how they are acting.

Speech on 11th November 1967.

INSIGHT

We live in an age of science; but we have not always used this science for a deeper understanding We have far better communications, we rush from country to country but the very pace of movement does not give us the time to wait to try and see deeply or to understand And, perhaps, that is why we have gone wrong and have not been able to solve many problems which are capable of solution. There is need for a deeper understanding of the problems, the difficulties and the needs of different people.

Many of us have sight, i.e. we have two eyes which can see people, things, colours, but I do not know if we have insight to a deep understanding. And perhaps in dealing with this question and other

questions of social welfare and human understanding, it is this inner insight which is so necessary.

Speech on 8th October 1968.

INTEGRITY

How can we go forward and transform our country unless men and women, in every walk of life, in fields and factories, in the professions and in trade, and above all, in the administration and political field display integrity in public and private life, dedication to the interests of the country and readiness to sacrifice without calculation of reward.

Broadcast on 13th April 1969.

INTELLECTUAL POWERS

Our administration is too status-conscious. This is true of our whole society. Seniority seems to be the rule of our national life. The creative young person does not always get the chances he merits. In certain branches of science and higher technology, the most creative work is done at a young age. Bertrand Russell has remarked that he was at the height of his intellectual powers at twenty. Einstein did his greatest work when he was twenty-five.

Convocation Address on 18th November 1967.

INTELLECTUALS

Artists, writers and thinkers, too, have a responsibility. This is to show the nation the right path. They should not hesitate to imbibe new ideas from abroad. They should also see that our own ideas flow to other countries.

Speech on 15th August 1966.

We must not cut ourselves off from the growing youth of the country and from the intelligentsia. We must also look to the problems of those who work in Government offices and other offices, of those who

man our essential services ; all these are the people of India. Towards all these we must direct our attention, and see how we can find quicker solutions to the many problems and difficulties which they face.

Speech on 12th March 1967.

We have to keep open, and enlarge outlets for the creative talents of our people—intellectuals, scientists, writers, artists, artisans. They provide the aesthetic and inspirational force to uplift and sustain the Indian revolution.

Broadcast on 15th March 1967.

INTER-DEPENDENCE

We are friends to-day with the United States and the U.S S.R as well as with a lot of other countries. We are helped by many of these countries and we have tried not to be dependent on any one of these countries. We have tried to diversify even the buying of essentials from different countries and at the same time make an effort to become self-sufficient and to stand on our own feet. But in to-day's world no country can be absolutely independent of another. It is a world of inter-dependence. But you can be inter-dependent only if you are secure in your freedom. If you give up part of your freedom, that relationship changes ; then it is not inter-dependence ; it becomes something else ; it becomes a form of—well ! I won't say slavery, but some form of colonialism comes in.

In the life of a city or anywhere else in earlier days, each person or each group was very much more self-sufficient. They produced everything they needed. They were content with what they could produce. Each community became a complete sort of unit. To-day it is not so. Each city is dependent on some other cities; each State is dependent on

other States to a certain extent. This is the situation in the world at large.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Courage and conviction must be allied to an astute, hard-headed analysis of international affairs and events. At all times this analysis has to be devoid of emotion and sentiment. We have found that the very growth of military power in the hands of a few countries is producing its own antithesis. There are nations with military stockpiles of unimaginable destructive potential, who are to-day unable to use that power. One gun-boat could do much more in olden times than what very much greater arsenals are able to do to-day, because of the fear of the consequences of using them.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

It will be my sincere endeavour to work for the strengthening of peace and international co-operation, so that people in all lands live in equality, free from domination and fear.

Broadcast on 26th January 1966.

INTERNATIONALISM

Jet travel, international seminars, etc., may increase the peril of too much internationalism. International living and the understanding in depth of the problems of others create sympathy and friendship and take us towards our goal of One World. But mere speed may mean skimming over the surface and taking a superficial view or searching for short cuts. In India the need is not only to go fast but to see that each step is a strengthening one, leading to self-reliance.

Convocation Address on 13th April 1968.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The world is too complex and diverse to be fitted into any neat pattern of ideology of one kind or another. Our ancient sages have pointed out that the "roads to truth are many". Peaceful co-existence and non-interference in each other's affairs can no longer be regarded as moral injunctions but intensely practical necessities, without which international relations cannot be meaningful. We, who live in different nations must be made conscious of what we have in common but we must also learn to accept our differences, so that our very diversity contributes to the richness of life.

We cannot be unaffected by what is happening in the rest of the world, or ignore the challenge which confronts mankind as a whole. The swiftness of invention and achievement gives the average man a feeling of importance and, at the same time, of helplessness, a sense of power and also of insecurity. Man is confronted with an incredible extension of scientific and technological knowledge, without a corresponding generation of inner resources which could evolve new thinking and enable him to break the old bonds of prejudice and of the old systems. Man is not yet attuned to the dynamics of the new He approaches the new structures and processes now available to him with a static mind and old attitudes. He seems to be unable to make full use of his knowledge to transform himself and to create a new and more beautiful life for all mankind. It is for us who are interested in the process of democracy to build not only the structures and institutions, but also to concern ourselves with the spirit of democracy, with the transformation of educational systems and their expression in terms of action, so that the minds of the young can carry the dimension of the new. It is only when the change in man is fundamental and on a deeper level that there can be a full flowering of his personality and the release of energy as well

as compassion. Then will we become capable of true democracy and of laying the solid foundations of enduring peace.

We are convinced that the world can survive and progress not by conflict, but only through co-operation If this premise is accepted, there is no problem which cannot be solved through peaceful deliberations. On the other hand, if force or compulsion is to be the sanction behind international relations, problems will become more intractable and the maintenance of peace will be increasingly endangered.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

Sometimes the assertion is made that India has no friends. This is the most peculiar statement which I have heard. I would like to say that if we are counting friends, which country has got friends ? I have heard from practically every power—and I include in this some of the very big super-powers—the same complaint that they have no friends. It just depends on how you count. What is the measuring tape for friendship ? It is possible that one of the senses in which people have understood friendship is how many countries will come and help us when we have a war. How many countries, whom we call friends, would really be able to help.

The fact is that India to-day has about as many friends as any other country has. How we keep these friends or whether they remain friends is not dependent merely on what we do, but what happens to be their national interests at any given time. If it is in their interests to be friends with us, they will be friends and if it is not in their national interests, it does not matter what we do, they still will not be our friends. So we must try to increase our friendship, but all the time we have to be prepared for any other situation when the same country may not be a friend or a country which is not our friend may

decide, for various reasons, to become our friend. Our whole attitude must be flexible in all these matters.

Earlier, because we were in the forefront of the freedom struggle, that gave us a certain influence. Also because we had leaders of stature who were able to give inspiration to other countries who were in similar position as we were. To-day that situation has changed. All these countries have been free for a number of years ; they are all trying to stand on their own feet and none of them would like to be guided by any other country. They would like to have friends, but they would not like to feel that any one country is superior to them. We ourselves perhaps would not like that position. So we can understand that other countries, and especially countries which are smaller, do not like that position, and we should be very careful that at no time we give an impression that we are wanting to take a leading position. That would immediately mean that we are trying to push them towards a somewhat backward position.

No country is a permanent foe or a permanent friend. Any country must try to be friends with as many countries as possible. Our policy is to strengthen our friendships, to change indifference into friendship, and to lessen the hostility where it exists.

It does not help us at any time to merely speak ill of a country. If we want to do something against a country, let us make up our minds and take some steps. But while we are not taking such steps, or do not consider such steps desirable, it does not serve any useful purpose merely to shout about that country. Even the biggest of the super-powers has found that war should be avoided. They have proceeded in such a manner that they have got into trouble and all their armies, all their power, all their influence, have not been able to help them to get out of the

mess. The basic conviction and belief in certain ideas cannot change. That is constant whether it is in domestic policy or whether it is in foreign policy.

There is not only tension between the poor and the rich, but there is tension among the rich because of their desire to control or to influence the developing nations. This is how in the past most wars took place and this is the reason for much of the tension to-day. Yet you find that in spite of this tension, again and again countries try to follow the path which we have advocated, namely the path of conciliation and of trying to solve problems by means of negotiation rather than by war.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

INTER-STATE RELATIONS

The principles of non-interference by one State in the internal affairs of another, of scrupulous respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States are essential to the principle of peaceful co-existence.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

INTERVIEWS

The people you meet and experiences you have, they change you all the time. That is the only way you can stay alive, because if you stop that process then you are not really alive.

Interview to Dr. Gisela Bonn, German Journalist.

INVESTMENT

Economic progress is not possible without investment.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

IRRIGATION

India already has what is said to be the largest irrigation system in the world. But I am told that

our water management system could be greatly improved. Irrigation can be wasteful, and irrigation without drainage can cause damage. Water management and soil conservation constitute sciences in themselves

The development of irrigation, especially in arid tracts, is often a starting point of an economic and social revolution. It demands more tractive power and creates new demands for roads, markets and processing and storage facilities. The stimulus which irrigation provides to agriculture also generates new and additional incomes

Irrigation and power form the basis of the agricultural and industrial development of our country.

Irrigation is a means towards an end. It is important that we utilise fully and rapidly such irrigation potential as has been already created. I think this requires much closer association than is generally found between the irrigation engineer, the agronomist and the farm extension worker. Planning for the utilisation of water must commence at the time an irrigation project is conceived. It cannot be left to be taken up when construction is advanced or after storage has been completed.

Speech on 22nd November 1967.

ISMS

Whether we be socialists, communists, capitalists or followers of any one 'ism' or of no 'ism' we have to solve the problems of India and face the challenges of our own distinctive and historical conditions of development by finding solutions to our problems.

Convocation Address on 15th February 1969.

ISOLATION

The scientist no less than the politician, must learn to be alone in the midst of a crowd, to be

centred in his work and objectives in spite of distractions. And also, if I may say so, be able to, when he is alone, hear the voice of the masses and feel the urgency of their needs.

Address on 4th January 1970.

In the modern world you cannot live isolated. You must know what other people are thinking ; you may disregard what they are thinking, you may disregard what they are doing; but you cannot do so until you understand what they are doing. But if you try to shut the doors and windows to confine your thought not merely to modern India, but also to the past India that is gone and that is finished and lumped up in the pages of history, then you are completely cut off from the world and there is no possibility of taking the country forward in any direction.

Speech on 21st May 1970.

JAI HIND

I call upon you to join me in raising the great slogan given to us by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. This slogan represents our strength. Join me in raising the slogan *three times*. Your voice is the voice of a great nation. It should reach the far-off mountains and every nook and corner of India It should inspire courage and self-confidence in every Indian. *Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind.*

Speech on 15th August 1966.

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose had exhorted the 'Indian National Army' to march to the Red Fort. He had also given us the *'Jai Hind'* slogan. Pandit Nehru carried this slogan to every nook and corner of India. To-day this slogan has become a symbol of our unity and strength.

Speech on 15th August 1968.

JALLIANWALA BAGH

Jallianwala Bagh was a turning point in our history. It gave a new quality and a new dimension to our national struggle. A movement which had been largely confined to intellectuals, spread rapidly to all sections of the masses and to all parts of the land. Hesitation and doubt were swept aside.

Broadcast on 13th April 1969.

JOINT FAMILY SYSTEM

In India, the joint family is on the decline, but separate roofs have not wholly wiped out the filial sense of belonging. No system is perfect, and the joint family has many failings. It has been blamed by sociologists for inhibiting ambition and enterprise. But, at the same time, it is not wholly bad. It does have many points which would recommend it. It provides a kind of social insurance, security to children, the aged, the handicapped, and to those members who might become un-employed.

Speech on 11th December 1966.

JOURNALISTS

The journalist moves in the realm of public affairs and power. His path is strewn with hazards and temptations. If he seeks truth and is determined to serve the one master worth serving, namely the good of the people, he has to brave the hazards and resist the temptations. The most difficult temptation to resist is the Faust complex—that is the complex about one's supposedly superior knowledge and mysterious power over the minds of men.

Our Press and our democracy will be safe if newspapermen observe the self-examining ordinance. The threat to a free Press comes not only from authority but from within itself. If journalists become too respectful towards power, whether economic or political, or if they chase popularity

and circulation to the neglect of professional integrity, then the liberty of the Press will be in trouble.

Speech on 1st February 1968.

JURY

The decisions of a jury cannot invariably be right, but their reasons must be sound.

Speech on 25th May 1966.

LABOUR

We must give very special consideration to landless agricultural labour.

Speech in Parliament on 4th August 1966.

The role of labour is important. A great responsibility rests on their shoulders to increase production for defence and for other purposes. By increasing production, they will improve their own living standards and also help the nation in its march towards progress.

Speech on 15th August 1966.

Ricksha-wallas, tonga-wallas, stone-breakers—all these people come to me. These are the people who are undergoing the worst hardships in our big cities. We have to enable these people to share new light and to infuse in them a new hope for a better and richer life. No single step can remove all their difficulties, but a beginning has to be made in improving their condition or in helping them to change their professions.

Speech on 15th August 1969.

Labour is a major participant in the productive process, and the quality and intensity of its efforts are critical in increasing the rate of growth of production and, therefore, of investment in the economy.

The demands for higher wages and other benefits by organized labour are understandable. But these

have to be pursued within a policy-framework which pays due regard to the general state of the economy and the interests of the unemployed.

The acceptance of a greater measure of discipline and dedication on the part of labour in public enterprises is an essential element in our strategy to make the public sector the pace-setter in our economy.

Speech on 20th May 1971.

LABOUR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

We have strong Trade Unions to struggle for the interests of labour We have equally vocal and close-knit organizations of management, keen and able to project their point of view. But who is to look after the interests of the vast numbers of the unorganised and voiceless ?

Speech on 20th May 1971.

LAW AND ORDER

Democracy cannot exist if the rule of law goes and if law and order are constantly violated.

Speech on 7th November 1966.

If you want to live in law and order, why do we have disturbances ? It is not because there are too few policemen. You have disturbances when people feel that they are not getting a fair deal. It is not only in India that there is law and order problem. I ask you to look at the United States of America. I ask you to look at many of these advanced countries where there is no shortage of money, there is no shortage of employment, there is no shortage of affluence or the wordly goods of mankind. I can assure you that women can walk in far greater peace in the streets of Calcutta than they can in the many of the cities of these advanced countries.

Speech on 24th January 1970.

LAWS

Our laws have changed. This change has come about with tremendous speed. We have compressed several centuries of evolution into just a couple of generations. The danger here is that social laws are far ahead of social practice. There is a lag between the legislation for women's rights and the social sanctions required to make these rights a reality.

Speech on 26th June 1966.

LAWYERS

The legal profession has given some of the best minds and some of the greatest patriots to our country.

Speech in Parliament on 4th August 1971.

LIBRARIES

A free library is a useful institution; but only those who can read can benefit from it, and those who have some knowledge of a subject benefit more.

Asia Magazine, 19th July 1968.

LIFE

It is necessary to inculcate a regard for every life, which implies respecting everything which maintains health and life, respecting the vital elements of air, water and earth.

Speech on 27th September 1966.

One gets from life what one gives to it.

Convocation Address on 23rd March 1968.

Life is not lived in compartments, nor can all-round development take place if it is so viewed. The solution of contemporary problems involves many spheres of activity. We must, therefore,

encourage the cross-fertilisation of views, experience and data, and also promote inter-action between different disciplines.

Speech on 3rd January 1969.

Life consists of different compartments—and certainly in India it does—and if you close your eyes to the other compartments, I am afraid, it is not you who are going to gain, nor the country, nor any of us

Speech on 5th December 1970.

LITERATURE

Literature does not lay down moral precepts. It creates an atmosphere where values are cherished. It strengthens moral fibre and judgment, and fashions attitudes.

Speech on 17th November 1970

LOVE AND HATRED

Only through love can hatred be quenched.

Speech on 24th January 1969.

To some young people, hate seems to come easier than love. As the Buddha has said, if iron is allowed to rust, rust itself will destroy iron. Evil cannot beget Good

Broadcast on 19th July 1970

MACHINERY

It is sometimes said that innovations or more efficient machines which are proving useful in other countries may be unnecessary and even luxuries for a poor country. Perhaps the more pertinent question to ask is whether a poor country can afford to be without greater efficiency.

Speech on 3rd January 1968.

MAJORITY

There is no doubt that those who are in a majority have a slightly greater responsibility. The bigger man has correspondingly the bigger responsibility, because nobody should feel that any person or group is being suppressed.

Speech in Parliament on 12th December 1967.

Wherever a group of people are in a majority, they have a special responsibility. They are not just one set of people there; they have a very special responsibility. Wherever some people are stronger, they do have a responsibility towards the weaker section. In our country, the Hindus are in a majority in most of the places, and, therefore, they have a responsibility towards the Muslims, Christians, and towards whoever else may be in a minority. But in those sections where the others are in a majority—it may be that the Sikhs are in a majority in a certain place—they have a responsibility to the other minorities. Similarly, in Kashmir, the Muslims are in a majority; and it is their responsibility to see that the small number of Hindus live there in peace and security.

Speech in Parliament on 14th May 1970.

Our democracy does not mean that you vote. You express your view, and ultimately you accept what the larger number of people want. But this cannot mean that there should be regimentation of any kind. This does not mean that only one group of people, even if they are in larger number, has the right to say that the others should change and conform to their way of thinking

Speech on 21st May 1970.

MANAGEMENT

It needs less time to put up a factory than to train men of competence to run it.

All over the world, regardless of political patterns, growing importance is being attached to managerial training. A technological society needs managers as much as technologists. The old concept of an entrepreneur-owner hiring a few technicians for his plant but running himself, became obsolete long ago. As technology has grown increasingly complex and as the size of operations has expanded, the manager with leadership qualities has come to the fore. Ownership of capital and the managerial function are seen as two distinct entities. The manager may or may not be a technologist himself. He may work for a capitalist or he may serve a socialist society. Whatever his background, the same set of qualities is required and the same results are expected. He has to run his plant efficiently. He has to command the respect of a large number of different types of people. He has to keep a look-out for advances in his field of technology, so that he can meet changes half-way

The will and ability to spot a resource and convert it into wealth is generally termed entrepreneurship Entrepreneurship cannot exist without managerial talent. At every stage, when choices are to be made from among numerous alternatives, each with its own implications of capital, personnel, time-schedules and social impact, decisions cannot be left to instinct. They need the trained managerial mind.

The managerial mind has special appreciation of cost and benefit. With the right kind of training, it will count not only the economic cost and benefit, but also the social cost and social benefit. The managerial mind is attuned to change. The advice of the professional manager should, therefore, be of special value to Government. The decisions of Government affect the future of millions, so it is important to take advice from those who look towards the future. The general administrator is basically a *status quo* man He lives by rules which

are the outcome of precedents and past experience. The scientist, on the other hand, is an agent of change. The future has no precedents. Scientists and managers and, indeed, politicians must have a keen perception of the future and be sensitive to change. Expert knowledge provides the necessary means for informed governmental decisions, especially when they deal with the increasingly complex process of industrial and economic growth.

The management of public enterprises is a relatively new and important part of administrative practice. It involves not only the skill of production and maintenance but of bringing projects to fruition within stipulated time-schedules and monetary allocations. It involves a knack for forward planning and a heightened awareness of social responsibility. Each project manager in a sense acts on pehalf of the nation.

Convocation Address on 13th April 1968.

It is easier to raise capital, to build buildings and to instal machinery than to develop the managerial skills necessary to run a plant at a high degree of efficiency. It is easier to buy technical know-how than to develop it ourselves. It is harder still to unite technical and managerial know-how under the same roof. For tasks which demand initiative, comprehension and competence, we must have the best men, from wherever we can and whatever be their background—whether they are in the public or in the private sector. The shortcomings in the private sector are supposed to recoil only on the entrepreneurs ; although this is not wholly true because private enterprise also involves the wealth of the nation. But shortcomings in public sector management directly involve the money and the hopes of the people as a whole.

Speech on 10th May 1969.

MANAGERS

There is a dearth of suitable skilled professional managers of whose services financial institutions in the public sector could avail themselves. The basic weakness of industrial undertakings in the country, whether they are in the private or the public sector, is that they are under amateur management. If we have general administrators managing industrial enterprises under the public sector, we have family groups dominating the private sector. The aim should be to bring both under competent professional management dedicated to the objectives of the economic growth and social justice. Government have already taken some steps to bring about a managerial revolution in the public sector. We should expect the private sector to initiate similar action in their own sphere.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

MAN AND UNIVERSE

In the vastness of our Universe, man is a tiny creature. His achievement is of imagination, of will, and of endeavour. He pits himself against Nature to conquer his own inferiority. In so doing he has harnessed the forces of Nature for his own ends. As the development of communications makes the earth smaller, man seeks the exploration of outer space.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

MAN AND WOMAN

Men and women complement one another and their equality is a natural, normal fact not requiring proof

Speech on 11th December 1966.

MANUAL WORK

Those of us who delight in dissecting ideological subtleties and those of us who think that an intellectual is one who does not soil his hands, must

rediscover the truth that without work there is neither life nor salvation.

Speech on 17th February 1968.

MARKETS

Sheltered markets, in which buyers chase goods, cannot give vitality to entrepreneurship.

Speech on 5th December 1970.

MASS CONTACT

We must realise that it is not possible to provide overnight solutions, no matter how much we may desire to do so. It is a question of hard work, of discussing together and of being in tune with the masses and all sections of the people. If we can regain this mass contact and if we can retain a contact among ourselves, then we will lay the foundation of our future work.

Speech on 12th March 1967

MASSES

The vast mass of people living in every part of India are the nation's real strength.

Speech on 15th August 1967.

MEDICAL AID

An essential precondition is the provision of health facilities and medical aid to-day. Even amongst advanced countries, not all can provide prompt and adequate medical aid to their people. The public health programme is a programme of saving lives and conquering disease. It means fewer deaths and longer lives. Thus we are confronted with a dilemma : the conflict between the rate at which population is growing and the rate at which food supplies and job opportunities grow. This is why most nations of Asia and Africa have undertaken programmes of family planning

Informed opinion and active co-operation on the part of the public are of the utmost importance in the improvement of their health. This informed

public opinion can no longer confine itself to matters concerned merely with individual hygiene. The individual must be taught above all to respect and set true value upon the common good, for which we are accountable not only to ourselves but to the world of to-morrow. International co-operation has a great role to play in enabling developing countries to improve their public health and medical aid programmes. Not all the countries have the means to carry out the basic research from which emanate life-saving discoveries.

Speech on 27th September 1966.

While 80% of our population is still in the rural areas, 68% of doctors are serving the cities. The question arises how long this state of affairs can continue. How long we can expect the people in the villages and other under-privileged sections to be satisfied with this state of affairs. It is up to us if we want to make the India of which we have dreamt, i.e. an India which is run with the consent of the people. If we want this it is essential that the people themselves should reorient their thinking and should give far greater attention to the problems of the other wider section.

Speech on 17th February 1970

MERIT

Merit will have to take precedence over seniority if we are to get the right men in the right job.

Broadcast on 12th June 1966.

Whether in the hills or in the plains, there is no substitute for rapid development In this lies prosperity and, ultimately, security. Brave plans are not enough. We must implement them. There is no excuse for administrative apathy and failure. Seniority should yield to merit.

Broadcast on 7th July 1966.

MILITARY ALLIANCES

In our foreign policy, we have always pleaded for the settlement of disputes without resort to arms. Our opposition to military blocs, the doctrine of Panch Sheel, our initiative in Korea and Indo-China and numerous other assignments on behalf of world peace—all these have sprung from our belief in the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Tashkent Declaration is a reaffirmation of this policy.

Speech on 11th January 1967.

It takes time for thoughts to change, for people to accept changes and to form new associations based on them. Some of these basic considerations, therefore, do not find acceptance; and fear and suspicion may still compel nations to enter into military combinations. However, such security is not real, nor is it conducive to evolution in keeping with the genius of a people. The membership of armed camps and subsidiary alliances have only weakened the self-reliance of nations.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

Our objection to military blocks is that the military presence of any one nation or group automatically attracts a counter presence, and, therefore, adds to the tension. We stand for the unqualified right of nations to choose their form of government and for total non-interference with this right.

Speech on 18th October 1970.

MILITARY STRENGTH

To be militarily strong, it is necessary to be economically and industrially strong.

Speech in Parliament on 24th April 1968.

In the present-day world, real strength is not military strength alone. We have to have a sound

industrial base and a united nation. We should not lose faith in our ability and capacity to defend.

Speech on 15th August 1968.

The more affluent of the world's nations continue to have unresolved the problems of poverty and frustration, of the decay of cities and souls

Power has not brought contentment to their people or solved their basic domestic problems.

Great powers work against each other and yet combine to exert pressure on others on a particular issue.

Convocation Address on 15th February 1969.

MIND

As knowledge grows, our minds have to grow along with it.

Speech on 21st July 1969.

MINORITIES

The special problems of all minority groups, tribal people, Harijans, hill areas, and other backward or chronic scarcity pockets demand attention and ameliorative action. This I promise. No section of our vast and diverse population should feel forgotten. Their neglect is our collective loss.

Broadcast on 15th March 1967.

I must express my concern for all the minorities of India. Here again, we are deeply conscious of all that we owe them. We are constantly looking at this problem and are in touch with people from many organisations, political as well as non-political, to see as to what can be done to deal with it and with the communal tension which rears its ugly head from time to time.

Speech in Parliament on 23rd February 1968.

Sometimes suspicion and anger are created against the minorities, giving rise to violence. It also disturbs our unity which, in turn, disturbs the peace in the country. We all know that if peace is disturbed our production cannot increase.

Speech on 15th August 1969.

Certainly ours is not a heritage which tramples on the rights of minorities. On the contrary, from time immemorial, we have opened our doors to all those who suffered in their countries. Whether they belonged to different religions, different languages, different customs, we have opened our doors and given them shelter. We did it in the remote past, and even to-day we attempt to do it.

Speech in Parliament on 14th May 1970.

I should like to dispel the fear and nervousness in the minds of our minorities in so far as their rights are concerned. I believe that protection to them can be guaranteed only by the Parliament. Mere constitutional devices cannot give this guarantee. History is replete with examples of Constitutions being overthrown or thwarted. Therefore, a wider and deeper democracy, a wider and deeper commitment to secularism is a more durable guarantee of the rights of the minorities. My endeavour has been not to defeat the public but to educate the public and strengthen the people so that they themselves will not permit any curtailment of their rights. The protection of the rights of the minorities can be ensured only when the majority itself is convinced that its well-being and progress is linked with a sense of security amongst the minority communities. In the ultimate analysis, it is only a sensitive and strong public opinion which can give real protection to the minorities.

There is an unending attempt by vested interests to divide and defy the people and to mislead the

minorities. I am confident that our people are committed to democracy. They understand and respond to the need for a secular approach, the need for change within a democratic framework and the need to prevent narrow vested interests from obstructing the processes of change. We all know that change is a fact of life, whether we like it or not. We all know that the subtlest and cleverest arguments cannot bind us to the past.

Speech in Parliament on 4th August 1971.

MISTAKES

What each generation achieves is based on the experience gained by the mistakes of those who have gone before. So, even a mistake is, in a way, a step forward. If we do not achieve something, at least we gain the knowledge to help others to go ahead.

Speech on 21st July 1969.

It is true that we have made mistakes. When so many tasks have to be undertaken simultaneously and on such an enormous scale, in conditions unexperienced elsewhere, one cannot eliminate errors. We ourselves are more keenly aware of our shortcomings than the most scathing of our critics and we are making earnest endeavour to correct them.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

No one of us, whether in Government or outside, is infallible in his judgment. We learn as much from one another as we do from our own experience. This is part of living.

No nation—perhaps no individual has progressed without mistakes.

Speech on 10th April 1971.

MIXED ECONOMY

We hold for mixed economy which, according to us, has for its principal task the one of ensuring

a quick growth of productiveforces and a more just distribution of the material resources.

Mixed economy signifies that in our national economy there should be place for the State sector as well as the private sector and especially the small and middle entrepreneurs. At the same time, we are convinced that the key positions in economy or what are called the commanding heights should be occupied by the State.

Interview to PRAVDA's Correspondent in 1969.

MOB RULE

It is for us to discharge the responsibility of maintaining unity and not allowing the matter to be decided on the streets. It is certainly the business of those who are in charge—not only of the Government and officials, not only of the political Parties but even of non-political persons—to see how these matters can be kept away from the streets, how these matters can be discussed and debated in the institutions which have been set up for the purpose. It is for us to decide whether we believe in Parliament and the parliamentary method or in mob rule.

Speech in Parliament on 23rd February 1968.

MODERNIZATION

As we talk of modernity, we are still held back by the shackles of old attitudes of mind and methods of work. Time is running out. Each new scientific discovery, each new technological advance widens the distance between the affluent countries and ourselves. Even though we may run with all our strength, it is but a drawl as compared to some others. Yet in attempting to overtake the advanced countries, we must beware of repeating their avoidable mistakes.

Around us we see an explosion of the pent-up desire for 'modernity'. Not only townsmen but villagers,

who once lived in the backwaters, are to-day eager to join the stream. To them modernity holds out the promise of a new order, a release from the drabness of their lives. It means the goods and comforts that new technology promises, a release from drudgery. Modernisation is more than mere technological change or industrialisation. It involves the development of our inner resources—of emotion and spirit no less than of material resources, in order to be able to meet the challenges of our fast changing times. Can we withstand the peril represented by nuclear weapons without the help of the methods of self-conquest taught by the great sages and philosophers?

Convocation Address on 9th February 1970.

Modernisation cannot be imported. It has to grow out of our own soil in order to take root. That alone is real transformation.

Speech on 14th February 1970.

Does modernity consist merely in using modern amenities or in following certain fashions or aping the more affluent nations, or should we look for a more profound meaning?

Speech on 4th June 1971.

MONOPOLIES

We cannot deny that control of the banking system by the bigger business groups was an important contributory factor in the growth of monopolies in the private sector.

Speech in Parliament on 7th August 1969.

MOON AND EARTH

To be alive is an adventure. The moon whose beauties have been sung by poets through the ages has been found to be drab and dead. But our earth, so much maligned as dull and unimaginative has turned out to be the most beautiful of stars.

Convocation Address on 9th February 1970.

MORTALITY

The sense of mortality is made endurable with the intimations of immortality of the race.

Speech on 11th December 1966.

MOUNTAINEERING

Much depends on the leader of a team.

Mountaineering evokes special quality and reveals hidden strength.

We need mountaineering not only for recreation but as a science to widen the horizons of our knowledge.

Foreword to the Book 'Nine Atop Everest', 21st March 1968.

MUSEUMS

Museums and Libraries are storehouses of knowledge. They are indispensable tools of study and adjuncts to research. Every true scholar and scientist is aware of the debt he owes to those who preceded him, not only the great and the famous, but the humble workers whose work is marked "Anonymous".

Speech on 14th February 1970

MUSIC AND DANCE

The academies of music and drama have a very special role to play in this country. I do not think that they have been playing this role as energetically or as enthusiastically as they should. We have very old traditions of music, and, fortunately, we have been able to keep them alive and creative. I am keenly interested in the preservation of our folk music and dances.

Appreciation of good music should spread to a larger number of our people. Our academies of music and dance should take a greater interest in these matters, and try to promote better appreciation of music and dance.

Speech on 11th June 1966.

NATIONAL DEFENCE

While we must have arms to defend our country from any aggression, these arms, this military strength, must be backed by conviction in our ideals and confidence in ourselves. Both are equally great weapons and without them the other weapons can be dangerous to ourselves and can also be important in helping to defend ourselves.

We have seen that our people have risen and have stood and worked as one man in every crisis which the nation has faced and it is this knowledge that we in India shall defend our Freedom, if need be with our bare fists, that has acted as deterrent to those who may have other thoughts about it. But if we permit this will and determination to be weakened and softened by internal conflict, then no amount of arms will help us. Arms used by people without conviction cannot provide any credible backing for foreign policy.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL

The National Development Council is the supreme body of our nation and can give lead and infuse confidence to our people.

Speech on 17th May 1968.

NATIONAL FLAG

We salute the tri-colour. It is a symbol of our democracy, of unity and peace of development and progress of our country.

Speech on 15th August 1969.

The month of August has a great significance in the life of our nation. You will recall that we meet every year not merely to see each other but to salute our flag. It is not merely a piece of cloth but also a symbol of our Independence. It is the symbol of our heroes who laid down their lives for

Independence and of those who are willing to sacrifice their lives even to-day.

Speech on 15th August 1971.

NATIONAL HONOUR

We must have a certain amount of flexibility and manoeuvrability, but, it must be consistent with national interest and honour and we cannot manoeuvre or change where basic convictions and basic ideals, aims and objectives are concerned. If we keep this in view, then I think India will not only keep its position but will be able to enhance it in the world.

We have stood by what we believe in, regardless of its consequences, in all the forums of the world and that is why we are to-day respected. Nobody is going to think ill of us because we come to an understanding with some smaller countries even if we have some difference of opinion with them. On the contrary, people will blame us for trying to throw our weight about, or trying to pressurize small countries if we have any differences with them. Of course, in all such matters the national interests and the national honour must come first, but we must not confuse this with any narrow chauvinistic attitude.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

Not only national honour but national interest demands that we do not mortgage our decisions in domestic and in international affairs to foreign dictate.

Speech on 9th September 1970.

NATIONAL INTEGRATION

National solidarity is not related exclusively to external attack. It is something we need at all times. For, apart from the enemy without, we have also to face the enemy within—poverty, the challenge

of development, rising prices, production, exports. Development is our best defence. For this, and otherwise too, we must have unity, discipline, constructive effort, an understanding of national interests and how they are to be safeguarded.

Broadcast on 19th October 1966.

Our executives must certainly see what goes on in the world, but their feet must be firmly planted in the soil of India. We have so many castes—let us not create new ones. You have a special obligation to pull down the old walls which separate Indians from one another. Your training and skill should be used to integrate society and to promote social mobility.

Convocation Address on 13th April 1968.

What we need is a many-pronged attack on the forces of disintegration. Merely to say that, if we overcome economic disparities and attain a degree of affluence we shall solve our problems, is not enough. And since every problem ultimately has its origin in the mind of man, we have to ensure that our educational processes, the books we read, the radio we hear, the films we see, do not distort the Indian mind but lead it towards integration and solidarity.

In the world to-day no country can standstill or ignore the advance of others. Modern history is not one of dynasties, but of forward progress. India must go ahead remaining true to its civilisation and yet re-interpreting that civilisation in modern terms, so that it can have meaning to the average man and woman of to-day. It is with this sense of history that we should assess the significance of National Integration.

Our people must be made to understand the virus of communalism and of regionalism which seem to corrode our national will and purpose. We must

also study and expose to public gaze the poisoning of the young mind through misguided educational process and ill-conceived textbooks. We shall study in depth and propose solutions to the disruptive effects of economic imbalances and disparities. But I think that, while these studies and deep analysis are necessary, they will take time and we should not waste any time.

The need for national integration does not arise merely from a moral purpose. Certainly the moral purpose is there but in the world as it exists to-day, as it is evolving to-day, national integration is the very condition of our national survival. It is a practical necessity if we are to go forward with our development Plans and to progress in unity and strength. It is only in the measure that we recognise this fact that we can create the right climate in the country for solving the various problems that we face. At times these problems seem insuperable but the entire story of modern India is one of overcoming the seemingly insurmountable obstacles. No thinking person should wish to weaken the unity of the country. I am convinced that the forces of integration are strong but they do need to be united and to be given some guidance. We must find a way of harnessing the basic decency, the basic commonsense of the average citizen in order to overcome these forces which threaten his future and the future of his children.

Divisive forces and tendencies have existed in all societies and at all times. Certainly these forces existed in India even during the years of the struggle for Freedom, but the mainstream of nationalism was powerful enough to sidetrack them and also to fight them, and thus we were able to march ahead. During the twenty years since Independence, we have had constantly to combat these

forces in one form or another. In fact, the struggle for national integration, the struggle for national solidarity, the struggle for safeguarding the ideals and aspirations embodied in our Constitution, has to be waged ceaselessly and tenaciously. I do not think a time can ever come when these forces will not want to raise their head. But it should be our endeavour to create an atmosphere and to create conditions in which this will not be possible and in which the whole of society will react against them.

Speech on 20th June 1968.

NATIONAL INTERESTS

It is perfectly understandable that political leaders in the States and of different Parties must respond to the needs and aspirations of the people but it is also essential that in pleading for the satisfaction of these needs and aspirations we should keep in mind the limits placed on it by the overall growth of wealth in the country as a whole. If the aspirations of the people of a region or State are divorced from the context of India as a whole, it will be difficult for us to progress or even to remain united. Therefore, while leaders must be responsive to the voice of the people, it is also their responsibility to guide that voice in the larger national interest.

Speech on 20th June 1968.

NATIONAL LEADERS

Our national leaders have inspired us, they have brought the country forward, they have given us Independence, but the new generation has to go forward. It cannot keep looking back, however great a person was. But so much of our energy goes in observing festivals and other things—looking backward. You cannot look backward and go forward.

Speech on 21st May 1970.

NATIONAL OUTLOOK

National problems require a national outlook and a national effort. If we cannot even get together on these problems and form a basis of working on policy, I do not see how a National Government can function.

Speech in Parliament on 5th April 1967.

NATIONAL PARKS

It is not quite enough to designate some areas as national parks and sanctuaries. We should ensure that they are really sanctuaries.

A place cannot be called a National Park if lorries and jeeps are running around and timber men and traders are swarming and disturbing the life there.

Speech on 8th July 1969.

NATIONAL PRIDE

I would not like anybody to think that the conviction, courage and national pride which I have is the very chauvinistic, narrow-minded pride which is put forward sometimes by some Parties in our country who think that national pride consists of getting offended or feeling insulted at the slightest thing that happens. It is only a weak nation lacking self-confidence which feels insulted by other people.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

NATIONAL PROGRESS

The difficulties and tribulations through which we have passed, the need to divert larger resources to defence so that we are in a better state of preparedness against the growing areas of tensions in different parts of the world—these and many other factors have to be borne in mind in any fair assessment of the progress we have made.

Speech in Parliament on 8th May 1969.

In fact the journey of a country never ends. Howsoever we may move forward, the road gets lengthened and we have to cover that much.

Speech on 15th August 1971.

NATIONAL SECURITY

We have a tradition that on the question of welfare and prosperity of our people and in the matter of the integrity and security of our territory, we all work in a spirit of co-operation regardless of Party affiliations. I should like to have the same spirit of co-operation throughout the nation, not only among politicians but also among other people such as scientists, educationists, industrialists, workers and peasants. We, who are politicians, give guidance. We settle the objectives and the targets in the country. We must, however, rely on the advice of experts and specialists for carrying on these tasks.

Speech in Parliament on 1st March 1966.

NATIONAL WEALTH

There is money in certain pockets much of which is wasted in ostentatious living and extravagant spending. These funds must be tapped and put to productive use.

Broadcast on 7th August 1966.

NATION'S STRENGTH

A nation's strength ultimately consists in what it can do on its own and not in what it can borrow from others.

Preface to the Fourth Plan.

NATURE

Modern progress encroaches on Nature. Tall trees and green fields give way to hideous buildings and man himself loses touch with this world and forgets that he is an intrinsic part of the Nature around him.

Convocation Address on 9th February 1970.

NECESSITIES

The basic necessities of the country have to be provided for. What are the basic necessities of our States ? Do we provide our projects with the right amount of funds at the right time ? Often we do not and the result is unproductive projects and wasted money.

Speech on 25th July 1966.

So long as the fundamental rights of millions of people in regard to employment, food, shelter and other needs remain unsatisfied, so long will their urge to rise to their full stature and serve their fellow-men remain unfulfilled.

Speech on 1st February 1968.

NEUTRALITY

We have never had a policy of neutralism. We are, and intend to remain, non-aligned. We believe in judging international issues in terms of their relevance to our national interest. Whether the world has two or more centres of power, we have to continue to think in terms of India's interest in the context of world peace. A country of India's size and potential can never be anyone's tool.

Asia Magazine, 19th July 1968.

NEW AGE

A New Age has dawned not only in our country but all over the world. The last fifty years have seen more significant changes in the thought, institutions and actions of mankind than several centuries of human history put together.

Speech on 11th June 1966.

NEW GENERATION

We need to establish a closer and more intimate dialogue between youth on the one hand, and the

administration, as well as the older generation, on the other.

It is certainly true that we have a whole new generation—about half the population—born and grown to adulthood after Independence.

Broadcast on 19th October 1966.

A new generation is coming into prominence in all the countries whose attitudes and beliefs differ from those of the older generation. In all spheres of life, therefore, whether it be politics or business or industry, we must take note of this new development and refashion our policies and programmes so as to respond more readily to the needs of the changing times.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

NO-CONFIDENCE MOTIONS

No-Confidence motions have become such a routine that we are not, at any rate I am not, bothered by their frequency, except that by repeated and unsuccessful use their utility will be blunted.

Speech in Parliament on 20th March 1967.

I look forward to criticism not only in the Parliament but anywhere. I find it most stimulating. In a motion of No-confidence, what is it that we look for? We look for some alternative policy. Some broad framework at least of an alternative policy, which the Government can follow. But when we find not one alternative policy but as many alternative policies as there are Parties and sometimes as there are members in the same Party, then I very humbly submit that there is not much sense in such No-confidence motions.

Speech on 8th April 1967.

NON-ALIGNMENT

Non-alignment has a positive role to play despite the breakdown of old alignments and the emergence of newer patterns of poly-centric power. Non-alignment can harmonize the tensions which grow out of changing alignments. Its existence permits and eases departures from the conformity of ideological power-groups. It lends support to independent nationalisms against external pressures. Its practice is consistent with friendship for all.

Broadcast on 7th July 1966.

The purpose of non-alignment is not to build new barriers but to weaken existing ones.

Non-alignment has raised a voice of reconciliation and human conscience above the harsh din of armaments, cold war polemics and angry clash of alliances. It is a means towards the larger end of peaceful co-existence.

Speech on 21st October 1966.

India has always followed a policy of non-alignment and of judging every issue on its merits.

Speech on 15th August 1968.

Powerful nations attempt to mould other countries in their own image, tending to clothe their national interests in ideological garb. India decided to keep aloof from the cold war and to concentrate on her development, free from outside interference. At no time did we consider non-alignment to mean neutrality. On matters affecting the international community, we do express our own opinion. We believe in enlarging the areas of peace and reconciliation.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

There are those who say that non-alignment has not served our purpose or that it has not been a

success. What is the alternative? Obviously, that we should be aligned. If we should be aligned, then with whom should we be aligned? The two major blocs are what are commonly known as Eastern and Western Blocs. Should we be aligned with the Eastern Bloc ? Before we go on to alignment, we must recognise that alignment has had many cracks in the last few years in both the Blocs. Should we join any of these cracked Blocs?

If the question is posed: "Do we join the Western Bloc ? Do we join their military allianees? Or do we join the Eastern Bloc, and their military alliances ?"

I am sure anybody who looks clearly at this picture will immediately come to the conclusion that it would not be in our interest to join any Blocs. Therefore, we come back to the third position, which is outside of the Blocs. I do not think it is an idealistic position. I think it is the only hard-headed, practical path that is open to any country which wants to keep itself independent.

Many of those who have been against non-alignment all these years and who criticised my father and myself for trying to pursue this path are to-day not attacking non-alignment as such, but are saying that we are not truly non-aligned.

We know that many of the allied countries do not like this non-aligned group to exist, whether they are on the one side or the other. Neither of them like it. Most of these super-powers would like to have spheres of interests. Although we are very friendly with them, we do not agree with this attitude of theirs and we are certainly not going to help them to have this kind of sphere of influence. The only sphere of influence we want is one of friendship and of mutual help.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

NON-VIOLENCE

Non-violence means that we should live in peace and amity, and entertain respect for one another's views. It also means that we should entertain respect for the nations professing different ideologies.

Speech on 15th August 1966.

We have, in India, followed a certain path. Whether it was Gandhiji or my father, they took this line from our ancient teachings. They gave a modern meaning to the concept of non-violence, and we conducted our struggle for Independence in accordance with these principles and values.

Speech on 7th November 1966.

NUCLEAR POWER

We have dedicated ourselves to the use of nuclear power for peaceful purposes. These peaceful uses are many and are of growing importance to us. The isotopes produced here are finding more and more use in industry, in medicine and in various engineering studies. Experiments in plant breeding and irradiation for pest control and food preservation are of the greatest interest. We have the raw materials and skills for a completely indigenous nuclear programme.

Speech on 12th January 1967.

We are opposed to nuclear arms and to proliferation. But we find it difficult to accept proposals that bind down the nuclear 'have nots' even in the development and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes while leaving the nuclear 'haves' free to proliferate and improve upon the most terrible weapons of mass destruction. We are also naturally concerned about our own security. India is peculiarly placed in this regard and we must find a way to deal with the problem of possible nuclear blackmail.

Speech on 8th April 1967.

Nuclear weapons are no substitute for military preparedness involving conventional weapons. The choice before us involves not only the question of making a few atom bombs but of engaging in an arms race with sophisticated nuclear warheads and an effective missile delivery system. I do not think that such a course would strengthen national security. On the other hand, it may well endanger our internal security by imposing a very heavy economic burden which would be in addition to the present expenditure on defence.

Speech in Parliament on 24th April 1968.

India is not against the Non-proliferation Treaty although we do not propose to sign it. In our opinion, the Treaty is incomplete and unequal and does not serve the purpose which it is intended to serve. The Treaty seeks only to prevent 'horizontal' proliferation, by prohibiting the non-nuclear powers from manufacturing or acquiring nuclear weapons, but permits 'vertical' proliferation, *i e.*, the continued manufacture of such weapons by the nuclear-weapon powers.

Furthermore, the Treaty does not stipulate any concrete steps towards nuclear disarmament as part of the larger process of general and complete disarmament. This would perpetuate the division of the world into nuclear haves and have-nots. Although India has not supported the Treaty, we have reiterated firm adherence to our long-established policy of developing nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes. It is for each country to decide how best to secure its protection. So far as India is concerned, we believe that as a member of the U.N. we are entitled to the protection of Security Council action in the event of our being threatened or attacked with nuclear weapons.

Asia Magazine, 19th July 1968.

Nuclear weapons to-day represent the ultimate in force. Thus any attempt to eliminate force as the determining factor in international relations must begin with practical steps towards disarmament. But the nuclear menace has become an accepted fact of life and the world has developed a certain insensitivity to the nature of the threat. States continue to enlarge their capacity for nuclear war. The arms race and the search for more sophisticated weapons have rendered meaningless the concept of balance of power. Yet, every advance in military technology is accompanied by an effort to maintain a balance of terror. This encourages local wars and undermines the established political authority in States which are struggling to protect their freedom.

It is by restricting, reducing and eventually eliminating the growing nuclear menace that firm foundations of peace can be laid. The problems of insecurity cannot be solved by imposing arbitrary restrictions on those who do not possess nuclear weapons, without any corresponding steps to deal with the basic problem of limiting stockpiles in the hands of a few powers.

How can the urge to acquire nuclear status be controlled so long as this imbalance persists ? Unless the powers which possess these weapons are prepared to exercise some self-restraint, collective efforts to rid the world of the nuclear menace cannot bear fruit.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

NUTRITION

Nutrition is the most important, even more important than education, because if you do not have the proper nutrition, you cannot make the proper use of education.

Speech on 22nd May 1971.

OBJECTIVITY

There cannot be absolute objectivity, for, the eye of the beholder changes with what it sees.

Speech on 1st February 1968.

OFFICER MENTALITY

The officer mentality is responsible for holding up progress. The hold of caste, not only in society but in government as developed in colonial days, feeds this outlook. Technology ought to have made a difference, but it did not. In the West, most of the early technological improvements and innovations were the work of artisans and craftsmen. Science itself arose from this technological base. In our country, Western technology was appropriated by the middle-class outlook of not sullying their hands. It is only now, when people from the underprivileged classes are going in for education in large numbers, that we have an opportunity to end this dichotomy.

Convocation Address on 18th November 1967.

OLD AGE

The old need the company of the young, so that they renew their contact with life.

Speech on 11th December 1966.

OLD PREJUDICES

Only that society can be alive which absorbs new challenges and ideas and refuses to let old prejudices and the weight of the past inhibit its attitude and direction.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

ONE WORLD

We in India are attuned to the idea that the paths to truth are many and various. An attempt

to remake the world in any one image will not be countenanced by the majority of mankind.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

We have been speaking of the beginnings of One World, but we all know that the impediments to world unity are many. Colonialism and racialism are very much alive in spite of all movements and all the struggles which have gone on in so many countries. To-day there is also a new kind of colonialism, the economic variety, the constant pressure exercised on those of us who are weak—it is perhaps not the best word to describe it—but who are susceptible to such pressure. By 'susceptible' I do not mean that you give in, but the conditions are such that pressure can be exerted and we have to resist the constant efforts to create difficulties for people and Governments who resist this type of pressure and who would like to keep their independence of action.

Speech on 18th October 1970.

The most significant development in the last two decades has been the explosion of human consciousness, the consciousness that we are becoming one human family, one world. National frontiers are bound to remain, but these are no longer impenetrable to the flow of ideas and thoughts. The newly freed countries of Asia and Africa naturally find greater kinship with one another.

Speech on 17th November 1970.

OPINION

There is always scope for an honest difference of opinion regarding the wisdom or otherwise of particular policies. But mutual recriminations do not take us far. As good democrats, we all have to function within a common framework which has the support of the people.

Speech on 10th April 1971.

OPPONENTS

For any group of people to say that I am betraying the Congress, or that I want to do something that is against the interests of the great organisation is hardly fair, especially when some of the people involved, not perhaps amongst big leaders but certainly many younger leaders, are those who had nothing to do with the Congress until 1942. They came in when there was no question of sacrifice or suffering but merely of what could be got out of the party.

Speech on 13th November 1969.

OPPORTUNITY

Wherever they have been given the opportunity, our young people—men and women—have done outstandingly well. In fact this is one of the achievements of which I am most proud, and which gives me such confidence in the future.

Broadcast on 19th October 1966.

Opportunities are not offered; they must be wrested and worked for. And this calls for perseverance and tenacity, determination and courage.

Convocation Address on 16th November 1968.

In life, opportunities are not given; opportunities are made and taken and it is for our young people to have the courage, the determination and the perseverance which is needed to attract an opportunity and to make the best use of it when it comes.

Speech on 21st May 1971.

OPPOSITION

The opposition has an important role to play in a democracy.

Speech on 7th November 1966.

We have to deal and work with the Opposition wherever they work for the good of the country, wherever we feel that they are in the right direction. We must not oppose them merely for the sake of opposition, as sometimes we ourselves have been opposed.

Speech on 12th March 1967.

For some parties, it has become a pastime to make the Centre a kind of bogeyman for all their failures. I must say that I do not think anybody in this country is taken in by this posture.

Speech in Parliament on 23rd February 1968.

OPTIMISM

To-day we do see darkness, but in the midst of darkness we see much vitality, we see much that gives hope, much that gives opportunity for work. Let us look at the bright side, and I am sure that we shall be able to show, not merely through our talk or decisions or resolutions, but by our achievement and performance that the Congress is a party that is alive, that is undaunted by defeat or setback, that will always march forward for the welfare of the country and the people of India.

Speech on 12th March 1967.

Twenty-five years ago there was gloom in the world. The world was in the midst of World War II. At that time, Gandhiji gave us the 'do' or 'die' message to achieve deliverance from foreign rule. There was not a ray of hope of India becoming free. But in a short period of five years our dream came true. From this we have to learn the lesson that gloom is not perpetual. The darkness will end soon and the dawn is near. We will soon overcome our difficulties. We need courage and determination to do so.

Speech on 15th August 1967.

ORGANISATION

What matters is not what we say but how we organise our business.

Speech on 9th April 1966.

PARENTAL LOVE

Parental love is the basis of the family.

Speech on 11th December 1966.

PARLIAMENT

The realisation of the dreams and hopes of countless millions depends on co-operation and international peace. India is deeply committed to both. Parliaments are instruments for the understanding of one another's points of view and of ensuring peaceful change.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

The major premise of democracy is the will of the people as expressed through Parliament.

Speech in Parliament on 4th August 1971.

PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS

If you want democracy in our country—and I believe we are pledged to it—it is not a matter of parliamentary institutions. We have to see that those parliamentary institutions are not abused to their detriment. We have to see that the feeling of democracy, the involvement or participation of the people, is not confined to voting once in five years or any other local bodies or other elections, but it is a genuine participation in the programmes of our country. I believe that spirit is there in our country, but wehave not made sufficient effort to harness it, to galvanize this spirit in our country.

Speech on 21st May 1970·

PAST

I think one cannot ignore the past when one is thinking of the present or the future.

Speech on 13th November 1969.

PAST AND FUTURE

The present is the road between the past and the future.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

PATRIOTISM

Sons and daughters of India—be you workers or farmers, businessmen or industrialists, teachers or students, writers or artists—you are all inhabitants of this great country. You should not forget this for a moment. Through your veins runs the blood of heroes and great men. Let diffidence give way to confidence; let despair give way to hope. We will then be able to build a strong nation; we will then be able to raise the structure of a beautiful Bharat. We are capable of doing so. We have embarked on an exciting venture. We shall face every difficulty—be it war or famine—with courage and determination. We shall not let the nation go under.

Speech on 15th August 1967.

Our motivations should stem from love of our country, from patriotism and national purpose. Given these common denominators to our thinking and our action, there is no obstacle which we cannot collectively overcome.

Speech on 9th December 1967.

Our intellectuals, our industrialists and businessmen do not yet feel proud of being Indians.

Asia Magazine, 19th July 1968.

All great human societies are the creation not of profiteers but of dreamers and, therefore, I would

say that none of us should live in a compartment, whether it is a compartment of business or of administration or of a profession, but to look at India and to look at the problems which face us in the larger perspective of the country and its problems and even more so what sort of future we would like to have for our country.

Speech on 14th March 1970.

PEACE

Peace is our aim, but I am keenly aware of the responsibility of Government to preserve the freedom and territorial integrity of the country. We must, therefore, be alert and keep constant vigil, strengthening our defences as necessary. The valour, the determination, the courage and sacrifice of our fighting forces have set a magnificent example. My thoughts go out to-day to the disabled and the families of those who gave their lives.

Broadcast on 26th January 1966.

The peace around us is an embattled one. We are confronted with the competitive build-up of nuclear armaments which threaten human survival. We hope that our dedication to tangible and realistic steps towards general and complete disarmament will help to create conditions for a lasting peace.

Speech on 21st October 1966.

We need peace for our progress. We want peace at home and abroad. We stand for world peace. There are tensions sometimes. All kinds of questions arise. There are tensions even in a family, between brothers and sisters. We have always stood for a peaceful solution of all questions. It has always been and continues to be our endeavour that all questions should be solved through peaceful means.

Speech on 15th August 1967.

Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

Speech on 1st February 1968.

Peace is the foundation of our progress.

Speech on 15th August 1968.

We yearn for peace, not merely because it is good in itself, but because without peace there can be no improvement in the lives of the vast majority of the world's peoples. Development must receive the first priority and must be based on self-reliance.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

We have been a peaceful nation. At the same time we are aware that peace does not mean weakness, that peace is achieved by strength, self-reliance and self-confidence. I want every Indian to cultivate these qualities.

Speech on 15th August 1969.

'Peace' is a word used with many meanings, as many other words are to-day. But we know that peace in the real sense is the foundation of any work that any man wishes to do in any part of the world. It is not only the absence of war but the creation of conditions which will prevent and stop wars, which will enable man to develop his personality and his talents to live in harmony with himself and his environment. Therefore, it means resisting all that comes in the way of this development, all that causes inequality and tension.

Just as peace is not merely the absence of war, not merely conditions where there is no fighting, real peace cannot exist where there is tension of any kind. The tension may be due to economic reasons. It may be due to political reasons. India has stood

for peace, and we feel that it is extremely important not merely as a slogan, not merely as a moral concept or a high ideal, but as a practical necessity for our people and all the people of the world who have been oppressed or under-privileged for centuries. This is the fight which we have to wage on the national plane and also on the international plane.

Speech on 18th October 1970.

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

We must raise the voice of humanity to assert that war is not inevitable, that there is no alternative to peaceful co-existence which can gain added meaning through active international co-operation.

Speech on 21st October 1966.

PEASANTRY

The peasantry is the most important wing of our society. Peasants are the predominant section of our population. I appeal to them to adopt modern techniques of agricultural production. I also need their co-operation in bringing about reforms in rural life.

Speech on 15th August 1966.

PEOPLE

At all times we must remember that the people are above all parties. Those who labour in the field, the factory and the office, the charming women, the bright-eyed children, the dynamic youth, the alert intelligentsia and the middle classes who have formed the backbone of all movements—these are the people.

Broadcast on 19th July 1970.

PERSEVERANCE

However long and arduous the journey ahead, we shall reach our destination.

Speech on 9th September 1970.

PERSONALITY

I do not think it makes any difference, whether one is a man or a woman, in any kind of work It depends on the type of person one is.

Interview to Dr. Gisela Bonn, German Journalist.

PERSONAL SECURITY

Constant search for personal security has been at the root of most of our ills It is more important to give recognition to quick and good work than to give security to those who fail. How else can we improve methods and performance ?

Speech on 9th April 1966.

PETTINESS

To indulge in pettiness, waste or destruction is soul-destroying and self-destructive, but to spend oneself in worthwhile tasks is to revitalize oneself and one' s surroundings.

Convocation Address on 24th December 1966.

PHYSIQUE

It is ironical that there should still be people in this world who judge men not by their moral worth and intellectual merit but by the pigment of their skin or other physical characteristics.

Speech on 24th January 1969.

PITY

Pity is one step ahead of callous indifference, but pity by itself is not only pointless but it can even be harmful if not accompanied by compassion.

Speech on 9th November 1968.

PLANNING

A small Plan will not fulfil the needs of our people.

Speech on 25th July 1966.

We find in India that although so much good work is being done in different fields, many people still work in separate compartments. They do not have full touch with what the other person is doing in the next compartment. It is only if we can break down these artificial walls and compartments and keep fully in touch with each other's work, not only in different disciplines but within the same discipline in different parts of the country, that we can have a proper planning and proper execution of our Plans and programmes. Such a cross-fertilisation of ideas and experience will enrich all of us and yield better and, I sincerely hope, quicker results.

Speech on 22nd November 1967.

A free market economy can bring economic growth but will not bring the kind of equality of opportunity which the vast masses of our underprivileged expect. We are pledged to look after the needs of the weaker sections of the community and the backward areas of the country. Surely the aim of planning was not only to budget our resources but to find ways to advance faster so that increasing population and growing needs do not outstrip our national advance. Surely planning was also to be an instrument for correcting imbalances and lessening disparities.

Speech on 17th May 1968.

We must initiate positive measures to reduce regional imbalances, as otherwise the tensions caused by such imbalances will inhibit the very process of development. The normal operation of economic forces is so overwhelmingly weighted in favour of areas which are already developed that a wider dispersal of industries can be secured only through the positive intervention of Central and State Governments. It will obviously not be possible to make up for all the backlog of development in these backward areas within the span of one Plan.

In planning for the future, we have to take particular care to see that the benefits of development are spread as widely as possible. Apart from specific legislative and administrative measures for preventing concentration of wealth and economic power, it is necessary to incorporate in our Plans positive programmes for the weaker sections of the people, including in particular small farmers, farmers in dry areas and landless labour.

Speech on 19th April 1969.

Debate and discussion on the objectives of the Plan, its priorities, its achievements and, of course, its shortfalls also are, therefore, part of the very process of planning. These discussions sometimes of an acrimonious nature, may seem to hold up decisions, and even blur our objectives ; but they are part of our set-up and it is through these discussions that we can secure the commitment of the people to the goals envisaged in the Plan and evoke the necessary enthusiasm and the hard sustained effort, without which no Plan, however well conceived or technicaly good, could possibly produce results. Government, therefore, attach great importance and value to the discussions.

I feel that we do not serve the cause of economic progress on a planned basis if we keep on harping all the time only on the shortfalls, ignoring the substantial progress that has been registered in several fields in the last eighteen years and without recognising that even this measure of progress would not have been possible had we not opted for disciplined progress through economic planning.

Throughout the Plan, emphasis is laid on the common man, and on the weaker and less privileged sections. It is laid down that planning should result in greater equality in income and wealth, that there should be progressive reduction in concentration of income, wealth and economic power, and that the

benefits of development should accrue more and more to the relatively less privileged classes of society ; in particular, special attention should be given to promoting economic, educational and other interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

It is natural that when planning was new, there should have been greater excitement over it. But to-day the people have come to accept the Plan as an integral part of our development; they have come to accept it as a part of the new economic order which we are trying to build in our country.

Speech in Parliament on 8th May 1969.

The mere fulfilment of statistical targets is not enough. Planning is not a game of numbers. It has always been an exercise in social engineering; this is more so to-day. Our planning must increasingly provide dependable solutions to social problems. Targets themselves represent some of the social objectives. But statistics should not make us lose sight of the social facts behind the figures.

It is through the Plan that our economy can move forward and it is for the Plan to set right economic wrongs.

Speech on 10th May 1969.

The criterion for all planning should be not only maximum production but optimum human development. In achieving this we have much to learn from our ancient thought.

Speech on 4th June 1971.

PLANNING COMMISSION

Traditionally, the Prime Minister is also the Chairman of our Planning Commission. In some respects, this may appear a curious combination of offices. But it has clear logic, since planning and execution must go together and co-ordination

becomes easier if some members of the Government are associated with the process of planning.

Broadcast on 7th August 1966.

Planning Commission has played a valuable, even a historic, role. It has translated the economic vision of our nation-builders into concrete policies, and it has provided a useful forum for discussions between the States and the Centre. It would have been very difficult for the Government to achieve this without the Planning Commission The objective and expert composition of the Planning Commission has naturally helped. I have felt that the Commission should concentrate much more on the task of economic development, that is, analysing factors and trends and assessing strategy. It should be a kind of expert body which would give various alternatives. Of course, the task of actual implementation falls on the State Governments.

Speech in Parliament on 5th April 1967.

POLICY

Policies and programmes, howsoever high-minded or hoary, are not ends in themselves; they are the means to certain ends. Somehow, in some minds, a certain measure of sanctity gets attached to certain policies. And whenever there is a necessity or a move to change these policies, voices of protests are raised. We should not be inhibited or deterred by such protests. All policies have to be examined and re-examined for their relevance to certain situations and for their efficacy in solving certain problems or meeting certain ends. Only then can our policies serve the purpose we have in view. Whatever policies we pursue, our main purpose is to make the country strong, to build firm foundations for the prosperity and well-being of our people.

Speech on 11th June 1966.

POLITICAL ALLIANCES

When we find ourselves in an extremely difficult economic and political situation wher · we do not have power, then either we have to stand firm on our convictions and try to strengthen ourselves or strengthen ourselves through alliances. There are people in our country who think that we could ally ourselves with some people and perhaps that way we would be safer. I do not think that such borrowed strength can be real strength, and I think the feeling of security which one would get could be rather deceiving. It would not be real security, and it would deceive us into a feeling of complacency and really lead us into certain dangerous situations later on. I think the only security is to strengthen our own people and to be confident of ourselves.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

POLITICAL POLICIES

Are we succumbing to pressure from any nation? I want to declare it categorically that India shall not succumb to any pressure. Men of strong conviction never succumb and we have a firm conviction and strong determination.

Speech on 15th August 1968.

POLITICAL POWER

I am not much concerned with which Party sits on which side in what State. What is important is that whichever side is in power uses his opportunity to solve the problems which confront our country.

Speech in Parliament on 5th April 1967.

The limitation of power has been dramatically demonstrated to India in another way. A small country, poor in arms and resources, has been able to withstand the might of the giant. The spirit of

a free people cannot be scorched or trampled under. Power cannot command obedience, let alone friendship and love.

The powerful nations have found that power has not brought contentment to their people or solved their basic domestic problems. The affluent of the world's nations continue to have unresolved the problems of poverty and frustration, of the decay of cities and of souls.

Convocation Address on 15th February 1969.

There are adequate safeguards in our political set-up against the concentration of political power. Our federal system with its allocation of powers as between the Centre and the States is by itself a corrective against any trends towards the concentration of political power. We have now the phenomenon of different political parties holding power in different States. And in the national sphere also we have a powerful opposition subjecting every move of the Government to the closest and most critical scrutiny.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

We are concerned not merely with remaining in power, but with using that power to ensure a better life to the vast majority of our people and to satisfy their aspirations for a just social order.

Power in a democracy resides with the people.

Broadcast on 27th December 1970.

POLITICIANS

It is the occupational hazard of politicians, and of administrators, to be obsessed with 'now'.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

POLITICIANS AND CIVIL SERVANTS

Sometimes the theories and ideologies on which States are run hinder the fuller use of science.

Sometimes it is the fault of sysrems and decision-making individuals. The civil servant is primarily the master of the short-term solution. The politician's horizon is sometimes not much larger. The vision of both is governed by what is practicable. The civil servant goes by precedent and notions of administrative feasibility. The politician is dominated by considerations of popular acceptance. Yet what is popular need not necessarily be right or wise. The immediate is often the enemy of the ultimate. Commonsense forms the basis of much of the judgement of civil servants and politicians. But commonsense is not necessarily scientifically valid. It becomes the duty of scientists and technologists to set the pace. They can do it through universities and other professional organisations which should make known their views on all subjects involving science and technology.

Convocation Address on 18th November 1967.

POLITICIANS AND TECHNOLOGISTS

Let me hasten to correct any apprehension that the technologist is *ipso facto* and in every way superior to the professional administrator or politician. The man trained to be a technologist may not necessarily be competent to decide on matters outside his specialisation. He may not be the best person to judge the social or political cost.

A great deal of administration consists in taking political decisions in the handling of men. The instincts and talents of leadership do not automatically flow from training in technology. Technology as such has no answers to political problems. Some scientists and technologists certainly possess qualities of social leadership of the highest order, but the abilities of most remain confined to their fields of specialisation.

Convocation Address on 18th November 1967.

POLITICS

Politics can be ennobling in the measure it seeks to serve the people by finding the highest common denominator of public morality and decency. It can be degrading if it is based on hatred or enmity.

Speech on 20th June 1968.

'Politics' is a word with strange and different meanings.

Speech in Parliament on 7th August 1969.

It is very difficult to separate politics from any other part of life.

Speech on 30th September 1969.

What is politics? Is there any person who is unpolitician? You think that politics is only of those who wish to make a change, but surely, those who want to cling to the *status quo* are no less political or it is no less politics.

Speech on 5th December 1970.

POPULARITY

We should not yield to the temptation of seeking transient popularity by shirking our responsibility.

Speech on 19th April 1969.

POPULATION

A population can be a source of strength to the country, but when that country has limited resources, increase in population means less progress and more problems. In a way, it eats up the progress.

To plan when population growth is unchecked is like building a house where the ground is constantly flooded.

Speech on 11th December 1966.

Fall in the death rate has increased our population. The Government has a vigorous family planning campaign, aiming to reduce the birth rate from 40 per thousand to 23 per thousand in a decade.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

POVERTY

Poverty is indeed the central problem facing us and it is the way in which we set out to tackle it that we as a nation will be judged. It is a long and arduous battle that we have to wage. It calls for clarity of purpose for determination, for unity. It demands of us all the perseverance, the discipline, the hard work of which we are capable. Slowly and steadily, we shall be building a new and progressive nation in which even the poorest in our country will be able to enjoy a minimum level of living. There will be fuller employment, more widespread facilities of education and health, greater opportunities for youth and less inequalities of income and wealth

The nation has demonstrated that it is imbued with an essential unity and sense of purpose. We can win the war against poverty too. Indeed, we must win it. I have absolutely no doubt that we will do so if we all set about the common task unitedly. There is no room for diffidence about the future. We must be sure of ourselves. We must be confident and resolute.

It is only through a united, well-planned and well co-ordinated effort that we can carry on our fight against poverty.

Speech on 12th March 1966

We are immersed in poverty. The threat to our political stability comes from poverty. Poverty gives edge to such divisive forces as communalism, casteism, linguism and regionalism. Ultimately even our security depends on our economic strength

We are confronted with the problem of poverty. It is a tremendous human problem, for it affects the lives of millions and millions of people. The answer to poverty lies in development and it is to ensure orderly and rapid growth that we, like others, have embarked on planning.

Broadcast on 7th August 1966.

We have launched many development programmes. The purpose of these programmes is the removal of poverty. We have to wage a relentless war against poverty.

We cannot fight successfully the battle against poverty unless we accept new ideas, unless we do away with superstition, unless we work with dedication and determination to attain progress, unless we are prepared to make sacrifices in the face of difficulties. We cannot remain idle spectators. We are all soldiers in the fight against poverty.

Speech on 15th August 1966.

Poverty corrodes the spirit of the poor and weakens their will to overcome it. The wealth of the prosperous grows in isolation and does not provide support to those who need it.

Poverty cannot be the destiny of the majority of mankind.

Speech on 1st February 1968.

We should not forget for a minute that our chief aim is to eradicate poverty.

Speech on 15th August 1968.

Poverty and want must be eradicated, for they degrade the human personality. The affluent society, as it has emerged, seems to have become entangled in its instruments. Dazzled by its own glitter, it has lost sight of the goals it set out to achieve. It is natural, therefore, that societies which

have stressed the importance of material possessions should anxiously seek a balance between spiritual and material values. This is still an intellectual groping which lacks articulation, but one can sense it in the restlessness of younger people and students, in the various forms of protest against traditional or established authority. There is a desire to assert individuality in technological societies which are becoming more uniform and more impersonal. Abundance without commitment to ideals will sow the seeds of discontent and invite its own disruption. Prosperity must be integrated with a higher purpose, and it should be the endeavour of all nations, to achieve harmony between progress and the timeless values of the spirit. We are human and do not always succeed.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

Our struggle is not ended. We are endeavouring to advance step by step towards economic freedom, so that the fruits of political independence may reach all sections of our people. Our first concern should be for the poorest, the dispossessed and the down-trodden. If we produce wealth, they also must have a fair share in it. Their elementary needs must be satisfied All our efforts and capacity, our knowledge, science and technology must aim at the betterment of the living conditions of the common man.

Broadcast on 13th April 1969.

Removing poverty is a very big task I do not know whether we can do it. We are human. We may make mistakes. We may falter. But we have to show that whatever happens we shall put in all our energy into the task of removing poverty. We must take the country forward on the road to socialism.

Speech on 17th March 1971.

We have never said that we can remove poverty by a miracle; we have never said that it can be done by magic. We have always said that certain steps have to be taken, deliberate, determined steps, and by those steps we can remove, we will remove, the poverty of our country.

We are deeply committed to change the condition of the lives of millions of our people, the vast majority of whom live in great poverty. When we talk of the most urgent problems in the country which are the removal of poverty and the lessening of disparity, our slogans have been made the butt of jokes and of ridicule. Any subject, any question, any debate has evoked the taunt, "What about *garibi hatao?*" Surely, the poverty is too agonising a state to be joked about except by those who have no idea of what it is and have no real sympathy with those who live in the state of poverty. If you want to look at the question seriously and sincerely, we know that the poverty of ages cannot be wiped out in a few weeks, a few months or even a few years. Anybody who pretends that he can do so is obviously trying to mislead the people.

Speech in Parliament on 4th August 1971.

Poverty is a terrible condition which brings frustration to the people and weakens the country. Therefore, our first task is to remove poverty. We can remove it only when we remove social and economic disparities between one class and the other.

Speech on 15th August 1971.

You cannot obviously remove poverty in a few years. It is something that will take a long time, and, therefore, our method is to try and reduce the disparities between people.

Interview to Dr. Gisela Bonn, German Journalist.

PRICES

We are anxious to see that the prices of essential commodities remain stable and that the upward spiral is halted. Since the main instrument for stabilizing prices is higher production, prices should also provide an adequate incentive to the producer to maximize his production. Hence the necessity to fix in advance reasonable prices for the main agricultural products. When there is scarcity of essential commodities, efforts must be made to stop profiteering by raising prices. There may, therefore, be no escape from the control of prices of food-grains and certain other items.

Speech in Parliament on 1st March 1966.

Higher production and budgetary discipline can give some respite from high prices. Streamlining the administration and procedures is the first need, and the second is to use the full capacity of already installed plants and to have a proper survey of their capacities.

Speech in Parliament on 5th April 1967.

The people of India are faced with many problems. There is the problem of rising prices. There is a demand for higher wages. This problem is not confined to India. The whole world is faced with the problem of rising prices and the demand for higher wages. It is a vicious circle of rising prices, higher rents, higher wages and again higher prices. It is our endeavour to break this vicious circle. We want to stabilise prices. We have all to co-operate to solve this problem. We have to make sacrifices. We should restrict our purchases of consumer goods It is not an easy problem. The poorer sections of the community are the worst sufferers. I have the greatest sympathy for them. We have to find ways and means of solving this problem.

Speech on 15th August 1967.

Efficient management and evolution of a rational pricing policy for public sector enterprises, whether under the State or the Centre, should be an important element in our programmes for the mobilisation of resources.

Speech on 19th April 1969.

A rise in prices, while the economy is not moving forward sufficiently, will only accentuate social tensions. And it is obvious that this can do more harm than good.

The tendency to run to the Tariff Commission or the Government for price adjustments to compensate for each little increase in the cost of inputs is hardly in the best entrepreneurial tradition, and strengthens the forces of inflation.

Speech on 5th December 1970.

In Parliament and public forums, the importance of price stability is often stressed. Businessmen understandably emphasize the need to increase production and to link wages with productivity as one of the most effective means of maintaining costs and prices at reasonable levels. As a general proposition, the approach is unassailable. But when we seek to identify specific measures for holding the price line, we meet with resistance. This is because no one wants to get hurt in the process of price stabilization.

Speech on 10th April 1971.

Price spiral affects us all and it should be our endeavour that the prices of the essential commodities come down. However, much of this responsibility can be borne by the people Why do the prices rise ? Sometimes, when a commodity is in short supply, there is a rise in price and it is understandable, but at times when a particular item is taxed, other items which are in no way related to it also register a

rise in price. Who raises this price and why ? You have to investigate it in your own locality and organise yourself to see that this does not happen. You have to consider about your responsibility as citizens whether they be about price rise or any other matter.

Speech on 15th August 1971.

PRIVATE PROPERTY

When we speak of imposing certain restrictions on property rights, our intention is not to abolish property. Only where property rights are in conflict with public purpose, the public purpose must hold sway.

Speech in Parliament on 4th August 1971.

We will not take anything away from anyone. We only wish that the benefits of affluence which some of us enjoy should also accrue to the country and its people, that we give something also to those who have nothing so that the strength of the nation grows.

We have a programme to put a ceiling on urban property. We are determined to implement our programmes one after the other. Some of them have already been implemented ; while others are still to be implemented.

Speech on 15th August 1971.

PRIVATE SECTOR

There is no doubt that the business community has played, is playing and I hope will continue to play, an important role in national life. We do think that the private sector has an important part to play.

The business community has first of all to learn not to run down its own nation. Has it not struck you that the public sector has a role to play and

that it is the public sector which has given an infrastructure to our country so that we have been able to defend ourselves and so that we have been able to help the private sector ? Do not forget that the private sector has advanced because Government has protected it and Government has helped it. It could not have found the base that it has to-day had Government adopted another policy. So you have to view the problems which you face and which we face in the larger perspective of the country.

There have been instances in which the decisions of management have been in conflict with those of the shareholders and the community. The purchase of raw materials at high prices from an 'allied undertaking, sales agreements on onerous terms, and the appointments of close relatives with no identifiable professional qualifications to highly paid posts in undertakings, are some of the evils which we have come across in the day-to-day management of enterprises in the private sector. The presence of a representative of the financing institution could possibly have prevented some of these evils from assuming large proportions.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

Many of the crucial decisions which shape our economy are taken in the private sector. If these decisions go awry, it is the economy which has to bear the consequences That is why we are so anxious for proper understanding between the Government and the private sector.

Speech on 10th April 1971.

PRIVILEGES

I am against privilege, if by privilege is meant reward or recognition unrelated to functional efficiency. World economic history and our own experience point to the fact that privileges, however

defined, become entrenched in a period of economic stagnation, rather than in a period of growth.

Speech on 20th May 1971.

PROBLEMS

We just cannot avoid problems. We have to face these with determination, intelligence and discipline. Above all, we have to prepare people to face these problems and to get their co-operation in solving them.

Speech on 11th June 1966.

Many short-term problems become less intractable and more manageable if we look and think ahead. Whatever we do, we cannot afford to sacrifice the future for the present. Equally, we must safeguard the present if there is to be any future.

Speech on 8th April 1967.

There are some grave issues which are not merely issues of the moment. They involve our long-term interests; they involve higher stakes and they deal with matters of lasting and abiding importance. They involve the question of the very survival of this nation. Two of these issues are democracy and secularism. They are the pillars on which we have sought to build our society. I firmly believe that we must make them secure. This security is not a Party matter nor a matter which could be dealt with from a regional, local or any kind of a partisan point of view. They have to be dealt with on a higher plane.

No nation, not even the most affluent nation is without its ups and downs. No country is free from problems. In fact problems, in a way, determine the strength and stability of a nation.

Speech in Parliament on 23rd February 1968.

In solving our problems, we should beware of creating worse ones.

Convocation Address on 10th February 1969.

We must have a sense of involvement in the problems which surround us, not only our personal problems, but also the problems of our neighbours. In the world of to-day, there is hardly anybody who is not a neighbour. All our futures are linked together.

Speech on 21st July 1969.

Ours is a vast country and every problem, therefore, becomes a vast problem.

Speech on 8th October 1969.

Our problems are greater because we are a bigger country.

We are not the only country with problems and no Government, least of all, in a sort of free society that we have in India, can be omnipotent. Problems have to be faced by a joint endeavour, but not if you look at them from the opposite side of the fence. We have to get on the same side and decide what is the aim.

Speech on 5th December 1970.

There comes a time in the life of a nation when the government of the day has to take an unusual step to cut through difficulties in order to solve the pressing problems with which the country is beset.

Broadcast on 27th December 1970.

No problem can be dealt with in isolation. Each problem, each part of life is linked-up with the other parts. Each part acts and reacts on the other.

Speech on 22nd May 1971.

PRODUCTION

We must live within our means and enlarge our means through increased production and increased productivity.

Speech on 8th April 1967.

An increase in industrial output is essential for the structural transformation of our economy. It is also vital for economic and political self-reliance.

Speech on 20th May 1970.

Increase in production and better distribution must go together. Any other path will ultimately lead to the decline of production itself and our carefully laid out schemes and projects may well be engulfed by the despair of the masses.

Speech on 10th April 1971.

The emphasis on a faster rate of growth does not represent any retreat from radicalism or egalitarian principles. On the contrary, a higher rate of growth is an essential pre-requisite to welfare on an enduring basis.

A higher rate of growth is vital for those who are currently unemployed or under-employed. A speedy and substantial increase in production is necessary to generate resources for expansion of employment. Ever since Independence, industrial expansion has acted as the pace-setter for our economy. But it is the increase in agricultural production that has kept the economy moving forward.

Shortage of raw materials, obsolete administrative procedures, mismanagement and misdeployment of resources have also hit production. But no observer of our scene will fail to concede that lack of industrial harmony has surely been an important contributory factor.

Speech on 20th May 1971.

PROFITS

The question of profit is naturally one which interests greatly. The need and the justification for every industrial enterprise to make profit is not questioned. But these profits should be based on efficiency and not merely on the ability to charge prices to the consumers without hindrance. This is all the more so in a country where because of foreign exchange difficulties, we cannot subject domestic industry to the full competition of imports.

Profits sustained for a few people by special arrangements such as selling agencies and managing agencies have no place in modern industry which have to compete at home and abroad and must, therefore, justify its profits in terms of quality rather than manipulative talent. We cannot change our business practices and ethics overnight. But can we hope to secure a proper place for ourselves in international markets without adopting modern professional management techniques and constantly changing our production processes in the light of continuing research. Only thus can business fulfil its obligations to its shareholders as well as to consumers and the community at large.

No good entrepreneur should wish to sacrifice long-term interest for the sake of short-term profits.

Speech on 14th March 1970.

It is not our intention that business and industry should not make profit and prosper. But I do think that to stop there, with no concern for the people from whom the profits come, is to stop short of the moral and civic responses required of leaders of commerce and industry. What is required from the business world is leadership which is enlightened in its own and the public's interest. And for this it must greet change with an open mind.

Speech on 5th December 1970.

PROGRESS

Our progress is linked with our ability to invent, improvise, adopt and conserve. We have a reservoir of talented scientists, engineers and technicians. We must make better use of them. Given the opportunity, our scientists and engineers have demonstrated their capacity to achieve outstanding results.

Broadcast on 26th January 1966.

We are trying to achieve, within a decade or so, what many countries have achieved over a longer period. This is not mere idealism. It is a necessity for a country placed as India is. It may be easy to slow down our development, but that will be a confession of defeat.

Speech in Parliament on 1st March 1966.

Progress will need to be evaluated by performance and not by expenditure or obedience to outmoded procedure.

Speech on 12th March 1966.

Some voices are raised that there has been no improvement in the lot of the Indian people. Publicity is given to it in India and abroad. But if we look around we will find that, while milk, sugar and other articles of daily necessity were cheaper in the past, there were no avenues of progress for the people. There were few facilities for the education of children. The living conditions of farmers and other rural folk were not satisfactory. Their children did dot attend school. They did not own bicycles. The spirit of enterprise was lacking. We have definitely made progress during the last twenty years. May be the pace of progress has not been fast enough, but it has been continuous.

We have taken up many projects for the development of the country. We have spread education. Progress in such fields as women's welfare, development of communications and industrialisation has brought many changes. We have opened up new vistas of progress. But as we progress in new fields, new difficulties arise. All sections of the community are faced with difficulties Unrest is a world phenomenon, whether it is among students or other sections. There are problems of race, language or other similar problems facing various countries. We should not magnify our difficulties.

Violence has no place in India. We must fight communalism, linguism and casteism, if we have to make speedier progress. Regionalism also poses a danger. One can understand the desire of every State to make progress but no individual or State can make progress in isolation. We must keep the picture of a united India before us all the time. We have faced many challenges and many difficulties in the past. We have always overcome them

Speech on 15th August 1967.

Close contact and the sharing of knowledge should not mean loss of individuality. The aim of progress is not to produce a race of faceless men, all owning and wanting the same things. Indeed, I find that as society achieves greater mastery over the mechanics of organisation, the greater is its desire to break out of the strait-jacket of uniformity and to seek individual expression. How can science serve man without an insight into his history, his culture, his hope? It is important, therefore, that the physical and technological sciences should work in close co-operation with the social sciences and with the science of the mind, and that all these endeavours should take us towards a commitment to moral value and social purposes.

Speech on 3rd January 1968.

India can grow only if capital, labour and ideas have mobility and we have the stimulus of a vast common market and common opportunities for all our people.

Speech on 20th June 1968.

The path we have chosen is the right path. That is the path born out of our history and culture. But why is it that, in spite of so much of progress that we have made, the minds of some people are still disturbed and there is dissatisfaction. Something seems to be lacking. Man wants something more than progress and material advancement, and there comes a time in man's life when a revolution emerges from his heart, from the inner-most recess of his being and when he can recognize his soul more deeply and can view his surroundings more clearly. Such a time has come in the life of India to-day. It is like the sudden opening of a door and coming in of fresh breeze Those accustomed to living in closed atmosphere are worried by the blowing of this breeze; but there are also many others who are tired of suffocation and would receive new strength and life from this breeze.

Twenty years ago India awoke in freedom in the middle of the night. My father declared on that memorable occasion that it was a tryst with destiny. We have again reached a similar turning point and the future is unfolding before us; we have to adopt new paths to take our country rapidly ahead.

Speech on 15th August 1969.

The path of progress is full of reverses, frustrations and hardships.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

Until very recently, progress was equated with the exploitation of natural resources. This psychology of the conquest of nature has produced hollow

men, blighted landscapes and polluted environment. In countries which are regarded as advanced, industrial fumes have eroded, in two or three generations, sculptures and paintings, which had endured for centuries. The natural beauty and calm of many regions have been violated. Birds have disappeared. Fish have died in rivers and in the ocean. Many rivers have become sewers. In many cities the air that we breathe takes not oxygen but poison to the lungs. The West has waken up to this danger and is now trying to remedy the situation.

Change must come but we should ensure that while we progress our buildings are in harmony with their surroundings, that trees, hills and all things of beauty are disturbed as little as possible. We must ensure that every industrial unit is so controlled that it does not endanger the health of any being. Laws and regulations can and should be made, but the best and most effective law is the conscience and the vigilance of the citizen, his sensitivity to his surroundings and his concern for his future.

Convocation Address on 9th February 1970.

I often talk of progress and modernity. Progress to me means the blossoming and deepening of the human personality, of the individuals and also of the nation.

Speech on 4th June 1971.

World history tells us that a country does not progress through the barrel of a gun. A country makes progress only when its people are served well, when they are strong and when the Government is run with their consent.

Speech on 15th August 1971,

PROMISES

Let us join the peaceful revolution aimed at making the country economically independent

and stable My Party and my Government do not believe in making tall promises. We have promised what we can do; and in the implementation of our policies and programmes, people's co-operation is most necessary.

Many things which the Communists promised to do were not done when they came to power in some States. The people should, therefore, think who is most suited in implementing the progressive policies and programmes which would benefit the common people.

My Party and Government believe in socialism, but it is no new slogan. It requires a great deal of hard work and determination to usher in socialism in the country The battle which the Congress is waging will require the co-operation of all to be won.

The revolution has to be aimed primarily against all those aspects of national life, including communalism, which make the country weaker. The revolution is to fight poverty, and to give the common man what is his due. We are trying to bring about economic justice. The steps taken by us in this direction are not meant to make the rich poor. But it is in the interest of the people involved to co-operate, for this is all being done by peaceful means.

PROMOTION OF TOURISM

Promotion of tourism leads to the development of cultural activities and aesthetic surroundings.

Speech on 28th October 1966.

PROPAGANDA

Let us not be deterred by cynics and the hostile propaganda of the powerful media of communications.

Speech on 9th September 1970.

PROSPERITY

Prosperity and progress, like peace and freedom, are indivisible.

Speech on 21st October 1966.

Prosperity in the rural areas will make an impact on the rest of the economy.

Speech on 1st December 1967.

No Government, howsoever strong or determined, can by itself solve all the economic and social problems with which a country is beset. Economic prosperity cannot be air-dropped. It must evolve and grow. The participation of the people themselves is an essential ingredient for this.

Speech on 8th April 1971.

We want industrialists and businessmen to prosper. This prosperity should not be at the expense of the general economic welfare but rather a by-product of it. Their prosperity has to be reconciled with the well-being of the people. For prosperity itself cannot exist without the satisfaction of the basic needs of the people. This is the fundamental truth which we must all face.

Speech on 10th April 1971.

PROVINCIALISM

A serious menace is that of provincialism or regionalism, or parochialism. I believe this is evoked by the same sentiments which are behind communalism. In fact, it is an extension of the same sort of feeling. Another serious danger to national integration and perhaps one of the causes of other menaces which I mentioned is the persistence of inequalities. In law and theory, the ancient discriminations have been abolished but opportunities

have not been growing as fast as the aspirations of backward classes and tribes and minorities and other such groups.

Speech on 20th June 1968.

When we exchange views, experiences and difficulties, then we get the whole picture of the country and we should be able to adjust to that and see whether our separate work is leading to a raising of standards in the country as a whole—not merely whether it is that in one State but it should be a far more united, concerted and determined effort.

Speech on 22nd May 1971.

PUBLIC SECTOR

We advocate a public sector for three reasons: to gain control of the commanding heights of the economy; to promote critical development in terms of social gain or strategic value rather than primarily on consideration of profit; and to provide commercial surpluses with which to finance further economic development.

The public sector must stand or fall, like the private sector, on the tests of efficiency, profit, service and technological advance. The only difference lies in the fact of social control and social purpose with regard to the public sector. The 'philosophy' might be different The operation is similar.

The public sector, too, must set an example in self-reliance. We should not have to go in for turnkey jobs or foreign collaboration the second or third time. Our engineers, scientists and technicians are second to none. Government has been too cautious and conservative in giving them greater opportunity to show their worth.

Speech on 14th June 1966.

The public sector, however, can claim no virtue unless it functions effectively as an instrument of

production and development and as a creator of new wealth. Here, the results have, on the whole, fallen below our expectations. Some undertakings have done extremely well; others have fared poorly. Many are making indifferent progress. This is a matter for national concern. I certainly am anxious to see that impediments in the way of the smooth and efficient working of the public sector are removed.

Many of the difficulties of the public sector belong to the gestation period itself. Faulty planning with regard to concept, size, location, raw materials, design, choice of processes, equipment, personnel, contractual arrangements, supervision, co-ordination, time-schedules, etc., has resulted in cost escalation and delay. Over-capitalisation, over-staffing, incidentally adding to township costs, inadequate work-study, lack of delegation of power, the application of secretarial codes and procedures to commercial undertakings, faulty system of financial control and audit, and the lack of a well thought-out personnel policy, constitute another set of problems. The proper programming of orders, pricing policies, quality and cost controls, research and design development and the structure of management are other factors which need looking into. Labour relations have not always been satisfactory.

The final test lies in profitability, service and growth. If the public sector cannot pass three tests, then there is no meaning in it. I am confident that the public sector in India is quite capable of delivering the goods, provided it is allowed to function.

Speech on 14th June 1966.

Whether anybody likes it or not, my Government is determined to go ahead with the expansion of

the public sector. We are determined to go ahead with measures to correct inequalities of the economic system.

Speech in Parliament on 4th August 1966.

I do agree that the public sector must be run well. It must produce results and create new resources. We should try our utmost to give a new orientation to the public sector, which would increase its efficiency and profitability, modernize its management and consolidate its investments.

Speech in Parliament on 5th April 1967.

We ourselves are anxious and are taking every possible step to see that the public sector attains the maximum efficiency and the maximum success as soon as possible. But one thing you must also understand. It is very easy for some people to ask why is the public sector not giving profit. The answer is simple. It is because it is busy building a base; you cannot get profit out of certain basic industries immediately.

Speech in Parliament on 23rd February 1968.

We have invested hundreds of crores of rupees in our public sector projects. This money does not belong to capitalists or industrialists. It is public money. Profits made by public sector undertakings are spent on public welfare—for building roads, schools, hospitals, etc. It is our duty to ensure that public sector projects are run efficiently and successfully and yield profits. The entire Indian public is a partner in these enterprises. Workers and managers employed in public undertakings have a special responsibility. Public sector undertakings suffer from many deficiencies. We do not want to hide these deficiencies. But it does not mean that all public sector undertakings are badly run. Some of them are being run very efficiently.

Speech on 15th August 1968.

The public sector must justify itself by its efficiency. A basic requirement for increased efficiency in the public sector is the induction of professional expertise instead of mere administrative talent.

Speech on 10th May 1969.

One part of the trouble in our public sector enterprises is also that the use of land for townships and buildings has been lavish and not as economical as it could have been. The projects themselves have to bear all the initial burdens. With less ostentation they could have shown profits earlier.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

There is a great deal of need for efficiency in the public sector.

Speech on 24th January 1970.

We believe that the public sector should be in control of the commanding heights, and the economy as a whole should be subject to the social good.

Speech on 5th June 1970.

PURITY

All of us are firstly human beings who have to live on this earth, whether we are in business, in politics or in any other profession. We all breathe air and drink water and we know the dire consequences when either of these gets polluted.

Speech on 14th March 1970.

QUALITY

Popularity is not a guarantee of quality.

Quality comes from intellect, technical mastery and the determination to be honest. Above all, quality comes from courage, courage to be different, to be non-conformist.

Speech on 25th May 1966.

QUESTIONING

The power to question is the basis of all human progress. We are free because we questioned the right of others to rule over us. But intellectual and cultural emancipation is just beginning. We are rediscovering ourselves, and the fact that a country sees things in terms of its own geography and history. Those who dominated the world's political affairs, and manned its economic controls, also imposed a monopoly of ideas. For years we accepted their values, their image of the world and, strangely enough, even of ourselves. Whether we like it or not, we have been pushed into postures of imitation. We have now to break away from borrowed models of development and evoke models of the worthwhile life which are more relevant to our own conditions—not necessarily as a group but as individual countries with distinctive personalities.

Speech on 9th September 1970.

RACIALISM

We have all been subjected to domination, exploitation and the humiliation of racial discrimination. How could we compromise with racialism in any form ? The pernicious theory that one man is superior to another merely on the ground of race or birth has been proved to be false, yet it continues to dominate the thinking of many.

Speech on 9th September 1970.

RADICALISM

I believe in radicalism but it must deliver the goods.

Speech on 20th May 1971.

REACTIONS

We cannot mould our environment or control what happens, but we can and we should control our reactions to events.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

REALISM

Is there a conflict between realism and idealism? Can there be a long-term realistic picture of the world which is not based on idealism? I have posed questions. Neither politicians nor scientists, nor indeed any one group of people, can themselves provide the answers. Only a co-operative effort, a pooling of ideas and experiences of all disciplines and all nations could even attempt a quest of this magnitude.

Speech on 19th January 1970.

What does being practical mean? It means facing the realities of an existing situation.

Speech on 24th January 1970.

RECRUITMENT

In our recruitment policies we should strenuously reject parochial considerations. The whole of India should be the home, as well as the workshop, of every Indian.

Convocation Address on 13th April 1968.

RELIGION

All great religions are records of man's attempt to refine himself.

Speech on 12th April 1967.

India is a land of many religions : Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity, Islam, Sikhism and others. People of the minority communities live in every part of the country and participate in all

walks of life : politics and business, administration and the Defence Services, the arts, films and sports.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

We have to look at things in depth. We have to fight all backward-looking things. I am a believer in some of our traditions. I am a believer in our philosophy, but that part of it which is fundamental and which, I think, is equally relevant to-day and perhaps will be relevant as long as human life exists. And those eternal values do not conflict with any of our modern thought, with any of our modern values, whether it is economic values, whether it is a democratic or an egalitarian society, whether it is taking the people forward and giving an equal chance to all—all these we find in our ancient times. But to-day, in the name of religion these fundamental things in our religion are brushed aside and we take up some small item. Is it important whether *gulal* is thrown or not thrown? Is it important whether a person takes part in a particular procession or does not take part? Are all these superficial things of religion important? Do they really make a difference to one's life, to one's thinking, to one's progress? They do not, and yet we get caught in these discussions which have no relevance to our programmes, no relevance to our progress and we forget the very fundamentals on which this country has been built, which have inspired our people and which could, even to-day, give us the strength to go forward.

Speech on 21st May 1970.

Religion means certain values, and religion also means certain rituals. I believe in the values, but not in the rituals.

Interview to Dr. Gisela Bonn, German Journalist.

RELIGIOUS FANATICISM

In my country; despite the great figures of history—Buddha, Ashoka and Akbar, despite Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, religious fanaticism and feelings of caste superiority do persist.

Speech on 17th November 1970.

RESEARCH

Original scientific effort is very necessary.

Speech on 30th April 1966.

It is often through institutions devoted to basic research that a nation acquires the expertise to sustain its efforts to apply science and technology to development.

The striving to meet international standards of scientific performance seems to isolate many of our basic research institutes from the rest of the scientific and educational system within the country. This makes their scientists somewhat disoriented.

Admittedly, fundamental research is an essential ingredient of the higher educational system. Without it, education becomes sterile.

Equally important is the psychological impact of research centres, working on the frontiers of knowledge, on the development of a modern scientific tradition in countries with developing economies. Over a period of time, these centres serve to endow the embryonic scientific community with the self-confidence which is so essential for progress.

Speech on 10th April 1971.

RESOURCES

There is no question in my mind that we have to mobilise our resources to the limit of our capacity and use these human and material resources in a

co-ordinated and efficient manner. If we shirk this responsibility and seek to cover it up by phrases, we shall be merely paying lip service to the cause of the common man. It is not with caution and circumspection that we can win the war against poverty, but by our capacity to take risks and to accept burdens and responsibilities. This does not mean that we should not take the greatest possible care in the husbanding of our resources. I am anxious to seek advice on the methods by which we could achieve a higher rate of growth in our economy, and ensure better performance in every sector of our activity, with lower investment or input of resources in general.

Speech on 12th March 1966.

Resources are not calculated in terms of money alone, but also in extracting the maximum out of the potentialities of the economy. Once we begin to contract, resources will become smaller and smaller and our situation will become much worse. This will be neither planning nor progress but merely sliding down. A slowing down in capital formation will, however, be justified if it is clearly designed (1) to bring the economy into balance; (2) to provide for reducing the vulnerability of uncertain factors by organising buffer stocks, etc.; (3) to adjust prices so as to provide the right basis for future economic calculations and the mobilisation of future resources ; (4) to make the adjustment for better utilisation of capacity; and (5) to generally restore financial stability. In short, it could mean taking one step backward to enable one to take two steps forward later on.

Speech on 1st December 1967.

We have a vast number of talented people. We have large resources. We have installed large capacities. The question is now to bend all our

energies to utilise the capacities we have built, to channelize our talents to proper use, so that we can go forward with our social, economic and political revolution, with the consent and co-operation of our people. Our country is attempting something unprecedented in human history. It is an exciting time to be alive, it is exciting and invigorating to be involved in this tremendous task. Let us be inspired by the challenge.

Speech on 30th March 1968.

Resources should be judged not merely in rupees or in foreign exchange, but in terms of all our many resources—human as well as natural.

Speech on 3rd January 1969.

Unmobilised resources are dead resources, and we need resources even to locate and develop resources. For example, the finding and exploiting of oil reserves or deposits of other minerals demand investment. Water is a resource. Land by itself is a resource. When water is brought to the land, we have a resource mobilised for a purpose. But to bring about this combination, considerable investment is required in irrigation projects. From where can this investment come if not from the mobilisation of other resources which have already been created ? Only a small portion can come as aid. Hence our whole strategy has been to mobilise, invest and add to our resources, and absorb part of the additional wealth so generated.

Speech on 10th May 1969.

We are poised at present for substantial progress in agriculture and industry, in exports and in replacement of imports by domestic production. In order to exploit fully the opportunity which has been created by the enthusiasm and initiative of our farmers, workers and industrialists, by the industrial

capacity already built up and the growing cadres of well-trained managers and technicians, we must make a determined effort to mobilise resources and to deploy them wisely for productive uses.

Broadcast on 19th July 1969

RESPECT

The economic history of other countries shows us that it is not through governmental edicts and laws that one enforces respect. Respect has to be earned and one has to live in the first as in the last analysis by the applause of one's own people.

Speech on 15th March 1969.

RESPONSIBILITY

If a person is answerable for his deeds or lapses, he must know the area of his responsibility. This applies to Governments also. It is, therefore, a good idea to have some clear understanding between the State Governments and the Union Government as to who does what.

Speech on 9th April 1966.

There can be no running away from responsibility.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

The only way to get to the top is to handle responsibility, to bear the burden, and not only to do it but to enjoy doing it.

Speech on 11th November 1967.

REVOLT

The urge to revolt is a force which can be used positively or negatively. In its positive form it becomes the will to achievement. It is dissatisfaction with the times which has led people to seek new answers to old questions, and has produced social, religious, educational and political reformers.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

REVOLUTIONS

India is undergoing a revolution at all levels of its being—economic, technological and social, as well as intellectual, psychological and aesthetic. We are a society being forced in new dimensions of thought, perception and action by the pressures of new relationships, new tools and techniques and new avenues of communication.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

In the Western world, social and economic evolution was a step-by-step process. In India several revolutions—political, economic, social, intellectual and technological—are taking place simultaneously and peacefully, although not always without confrontation and crises.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

RICHES AND POVERTY

If it is right to point out that the rich nations owe a duty to the poor nations, based on the common interests of the rich and the poor in securing the stability of the world order, then the well-off sections of a society owe a similar duty to the poorer section in the common interests of the stability of that society as a whole. If the art and science of international politics consists in building bridges between the rich and poor nations, the art and science of domestic politics must consist of building bridges between riches and poverty, between the dwellers in mansions and the dwellers in *jhuggis* (slums).

Speech on 30th March 1968.

We hear the phrase sometimes that the rich have become richer and the poor poorer. This, I am afraid, is not a fact. But what is the fact ? The fact is that rich has grown richer, many people who were not so rich have grown richer. Many people who were, I won't say, poor but certainly the middle

class has also gone up. Even amongst the poor many people are in a much better situation but those who lack things are more acutely aware of the lack than they were before. It was not that they did not lack them. May be, they had much less before but at that time they thought it was God's will and now they are aware that it is something that can be done and they are extremely angry that it has not been done.

Speech on 13th December 1969.

RIOTS

If some people do something wrong, by all means catch the guilty. But in the riots, the guilty are the first to get away, and it is the innocent who are looted and murdered.

Speech in Parliament on 14th May 1970.

RISK AND GAIN

No society, whether capitalist or socialist, has developed without the back-breaking and heart-breaking work of pioneers who broke new ground, faced enormous risks, made mistakes and learnt from them—step by painful step.

Convocation Address on 15th February 1969.

Do not be afraid of difficulties, do not be afraid of problems, do not be afraid of risks because it is only those communities who have been willing to take these risks, who have been willing to face the challenges which were posed, who were able to go ahead in the real sense of the day, not thinking just about the profits to-day, but the likely markets to be opened out to-morrow and the day after, the profits and the growth to come in the future. If you look at it from that angle, I am sure that we will be able to have a better dialogue.

Speech on 5th December 1970.

RISKS

Never look to assured salaries and security. Be adventurous, take risks, strike out on your own.

Convocation Address on 16th November 1968.

RIVALRY

In to-day's world life cannot be divided into compartments. We must all take an interest in and work for the good of the whole. In our country, as perhaps in others also, different groups or interests seem to function as rivals to one another. Faced as we are by momental problems, this is a luxury we can ill-afford.

Speech on 10th April 1971.

SACRIFICE

So far we have proceeded on the assumption that we can gradually transform our society by preserving our democratic rights and liberties. The inarticulate major premise, which I should like to make articulate to-day, is that we just cannot do it unless compulsory self-sacrifice of our former generation is substituted by voluntary sacrifice. No society, whether capitalist or socialist, has developed without the back-breaking and heart-breaking work of pioneers who broke new ground, faced enormous risks, made mistakes and learnt from them, step by painful step.

Convocation Address on 15th February 1969.

From my own experience, I have learnt that will-power, unceasing endeavour and the capacity for sacrifice sustained and strengthened us during our struggle for political independence. These same qualities will help us towards economic freedom.

Speech on 9th September 1970.

SALARIES

In spite of numerous attempts at reform, the administration still tends to be hierarchical and status-bound. Pay and power are equated, instead of pay and utility. It is odd that the greatest doctors and engineers in the country who would be rated as the leaders of the profession and who save lives or add permanent assets to the nation, can rarely hope to receive the pay or status of Secretaries of Ministries. The brightest of our young men and women choose engineering and medicine. If they happen to go into Government, they are very soon overtaken by the general administrator. This must change, and I am trying to change it. The administrative system must reflect an individual's contribution to human welfare and economic gain.

Convocation Address on 18th November 1967.

SALVATION

In India we have too long sought individual salvation. Perhaps that is why as a country we came to grief. We now realise that there cannot be salvation for the individual without social salvation.

Convocation Address on 10th February 1969.

SAVINGS

We must stimulate the saving habit amongst all sections of our people, both in the rural and the urban areas. We must see that these savings are garnered and utilised in accordance with the priorities and objectives of our Plans.

Speech in Parliament on 7th August 1969.

SCHEDULED CASTES

Although to-day every Government has to have at least one Minister from this class, there are certain

number of reservations in offices and education and other training programmes have expanded very much for these people.

Speech on 13th December 1969.

There are many difficulties which boys from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes still find in getting jobs, and even in getting the right kind of education. I think that apart from seeing that they get the education, we must also see that those who are the most talented should have special opportunities, whether of tuition or of special training or something else which helps them to attain the standard, because I do believe that if any of them are below standard, it is not because of any inherent weakness, but because their talents and capabilities have not been given the opportunity to blossom. That opportunity we must do our best to provide.

Before the end of 1970 over 91 lakh pre-matric scholarships and about 12 lakh post-matric scholarships have been given to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe members.

Speech in Parliament on 5th September 1970.

If you consider the problems of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, certainly education is very important for them; but one of the major problems with which they are concerned is land. You cannot really solve the problem of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes unless you consider what has to be done about the land problem.

I am personally very much against the segregation of the Scheduled Tribes or the Scheduled Castes from the rest of our people and, I think, the sooner we can end this question of having separate hostels for them, the better it would be.

There is perhaps a feeling that only a member of the Scheduled Castes will look after the interests of

the Scheduled Castes. Now this is a very wrong feeling. It is up to us to prove that all of us are equally concerned with that problem as well as all the other important problems which the country faces.

Speech on 22nd May 1971.

SCHEMES

It is not enough to draw up right schemes for doing away with confusion and divided responsibility.

Speech on 9th April 1966.

All the schemes which we take up are national schemes, whether they are in the State sector or in the Central sector, because the welfare and progress of the country are indivisible.

Speech in Parliament on 5th April 1967.

SCIENCE

Science and aesthetics must go hand in hand, if our urge is to retain and embellish beauty and make this world a better place to live in. Beauty is associated with creativity and not with destruction. Modern Science gives us the power to create and also the power to destroy. We aspire to have science tempered with the aesthetic sense.

Speech on 12th January 1967.

Science has long ceased to be considered an esoteric pursuit. It has to be part of the life of every Indian—the *jawan* (soldier), the farmer and the worker, the housewife and the student.

Speech on 7th September 1967.

What do we expect of science ? The immediate answer is, generally, that we seek more advanced technologies and their application to bring material benefit; to take knowledge and training within the

reach of different sections of our people, thus enabling them to produce wealth in their fields and factories; and to exploit our vast untapped resources. While this must remain a primary objective of scientific endeavour in any country we are equally aware of the importance of other aspects and of basic science.

It is a measure of our resolve to give to science and technology an important place in our scheme of things that India has made considerable investment in stimulating their growth. The awareness of science and technology is part of our national policy and we have made strenuous efforts to give practical shape and content to this ideology in the form of institutions. We have to-day some thirty national research laboratories. We have more than a dozen major agricultural and medical research centres. We have seventy universities and a sophisticated atomic energy programme. And yet we must admit that all these developments have not made a significant impression on the consciousness even of our scientists, educationists and policy planners.

Speech on 3rd January 1968.

A large part of the work of a modern government has to do with science. It is only through science that we can transform into reality the hopes we have held out to our people. For many more years to come, the people will measure progress in terms of our ability to give them their basic needs.

Speech on 10th February 1968.

Science is in itself a spirit of enquiry as well as a tool for modernising India and Indian thought and liberating men from prejudice and superstition.

Speech on 13th April 1968.

The organisation and advancement of science cannot be the concern of Government alone. Universities have a great and fundamental role to play not only in science education and pure research but in propagating and stimulating a climate of science and rational judgement. There is also an onus on industry to devote far more resources and attention on research and development and, indeed, to indent on the national laboratories and the C.S.I.R. which are there to serve them.

Speech on 10th August 1968.

What does science mean to various people? The industrialists seek science as a means for augmenting production. The farmers look at it as a tool for growing better crops. The average citizens think that science will ease the hardship of their daily grind. To my father, it was a means for raising the standards of living of our people and of liberating them from prejudices and superstitions. To me, science stands for a deepening awareness of life in all its many facets. Science awakens the urge to enquire and to search for truth. It gives one the ability to observe and sharpens one's perception. It means precision and discipline in thought and action.

Convocation Address on 16th November 1968.

Science is not merely the imitative learning of the discoveries of others. It is the constant search for truth, the spirit of invention and of resourcefulness. The love of knowledge for its own sake may be satisfying to one's ego, but knowledge harnessed for the betterment of one's countrymen will bring satisfaction to millions.

Speech on 3rd January 1969.

Life is not lived in compartments. Research and development are not the whole of science. Science cannot and must not be imprisoned in the

laboratory, the modern industrial plant or educational institutions. It must be integrated in our thinking and be a part of our daily lives.

We regard science as a powerful instrument of social change. Modernization is not merely production through improved technology. It means changing the lives of individuals and of the nation. Science is as greatly concerned with distribution as with production. It implies the best use of material and human resources, of equipment and social organisation, so as to bring about the widest possible diffusion of welfare. Human welfare should not recognise national boundaries but, in the world as it is organised to-day, we have still to think in terms of what Governments can do for their peoples.

Speech on 4th January 1970

For progress in science, we must not only solve scientific problems with determination but be equally effective in overcoming institutional rigidity.

Speech on 10th April 1971.

SCIENCE AND PLANNING

Science and planning could draw much closer. There is urgent need for more careful and detailed research planning linked to specific needs and time-horizons. We must be sufficiently bold and imaginative in developing and using our own know-how as well as making the fullest use of the experience of others. Above all, we must ensure that the results we achieve are commensurate with our investment.

Speech on 7th September 1967.

SCIENCE AND SPIRITUALITY

Economic solutions even within the framework of monolithic societies are extremely difficult. Our young people must learn to think about these

things. Above all, the engineers must have reverence for life, not only human life, but flora and fauna and the living tradition of our country. Tradition is not just the past. It is that part of the past which lives on the present, and enables a people to face the challenge of the future. The future cannot be built on the past but on our present effort. Does this mean that one should cut oneself adrift from spiritual anchorage? On the contrary, I believe that it is only through a creative fusion of science with spirituality, with the deep and abiding values of our philosophy, that we can survive and prosper. But spirituality and philosophy should not be confused with superstition.

Convocation Address on 16th November 1968.

SCIENCE AND SUPERSTITION

Science fights superstition. The unquestioning reverence of everything old is superstition. The notion that some races or religions or castes are superior to others is a superstition. The belief that a system of thought appropriate to one historical situation is of universal validity is a superstition. Science, on the other hand, is attuned to changes. For various reasons, superstition is entrenching itself and finding new supporters. Without the help of science, I see little hope of checking the virus of religious hatred. Scientists and technologists should make it their mission to spread the scientific temper so that our forward march is not blocked by obstacles of superstition

Convocation Address on 18th November 1967.

There are scientists who wear science as if it were a coat to be put on in the laboratory or in the office and taken off when you go home. There was some years ago a professor of astronomy who on certain holy days took a special bath so that *Rahu*

would not follow the Sun. These are the attitudes which scientists and engineers must challenge and fight.

Convocation Address on 16th November 1968.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Asia and Africa were cradles of civilisation and taught and led the world for centuries. But they fell prey to foreign domination and imperialism, not only because of internal troubles, but because they fell behind in science and technology. After generations of foreign rule, freedom has returned to these two ancient continents, except in some parts where the freedom struggle still continues.

Technology is the key to change and progess. The world has seen wonderful advances in science and technology, but even the simplest tools and process of modern science have to be adapted to the circumstances of each country and this in itself is an immense task.

In the interests of the research, knowledge should be advanced. How that knowledge should be used has until lately been largely ignored, and there has been a feeling that man depends on science and technology rather than that science and technology are tools for what we want to do for mankind.

Even though the Indian Government is very conscious of the importance of science and has tried to help in its promotion in every way, we still find that we are a long way from having a scientific or a rational outlook in the country. This is, to my mind, the most important thing which we have to achieve, here and elsewhere, if we plan to go ahead and to really raise the standards of our people and to give them what they need for their betterment.

Speech on 30th April 1966.

The crisis which confronts India to-day is of an entirely different nature. The world has leapt into the nuclear age. The adventure and conquests of science have brought new challenges. It is of the utmost urgency now that the revolution in technology should be matched by an upsurge of intellectual and creative questioning. Without such effort we shall be condemned to mediocrity, and the hopes of new life will wilt. The conflict in India is not primarily one of ideology as such, but a clash between those who cling to old ways of thought and those who want India to understand the changes which are occurring all over the world and to adapt herself to the needs of the second half of the twentieth century.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

India should retain the beauty and many of the timeless values of its old tradition and yet make the fullest use of science and technology to bring a better life to its people. Thus we can take the country for-ward.

Speech on 12th January 1967.

In *Alice in Wonderland*, Alice comes across the queen who is running very hard and asks her, "Why are you running so hard?" The queen replies, "Well, I have to run hard to stay in the same place!" India is much in the same position to-day. The advance of science and technology has created this situation. Those nations who already are advanced in science and technology are able to use that advance to go still further; and countries like India find it extremely difficult to catch up, because the faster we think we are going, we find that we are very much where we were as compared to the more advanced nations. It is only by making a far greater effort that we can make any visible and tangible advance.

Speech on 6th June 1967.

It is at this crucial juncture that we discover, amongst the many crises which face us, a crisis in Indian science. It is possible to detect a sense of disquiet and frustration in the country's scientific community of which brain-drain is not the only manifestation. There appears to be a gulf between science and administration, inadequate contact between science and industry and, in my view, foreign collaboration is still too readily sought.

Science means probing the secrets of our world and harnessing the power of Nature for our own needs. It means combating superstition and the deadweight of outdated habits and customs. In India we have to contend not with 'two cultures' but with three. The third category in India, as in any developing country, is, of course, superstition, tradition and similar forces of inertia. The role of science in such societies must be as much to promote rational inquiry and judgment as to encourage research and development Science is not an objective but really an attitude. Therefore, it means the inculcation of new attitudes and a spirit of rational inquiry amongst the people as a whole so that they turn to science and technology to transform our agriculture and our industry.

We require more trained manpower and must hasten the scientific and technological revolution.

Speech on 7th September 1967.

We must give special attention to the teaching of science in our schools, colleges, and universities, which should foster the scientific approach. Technology cannot exist and certainly will not grow without a base of fundamental science. We might progress by borrowing advance technology from other nations, but no great nation can live by borrowing alone. It must have something to give back to the world if it wants to attain a degree of economic

and political independence even in an inter-dependent world. We should like our universities to become the centres of development of basic science, and in this they should have the assistance of the national laboratories. There is a necessary inter-connection between the growth of science and technology as a general movement and the ethos of society.

Speech on 3rd January 1968.

We are against being influenced by any outside political power, but we welcome modernisation and the expansion of science and technology; for it is through them that we can give a better life to our people and be strong enough to defend our freedom.

Interview on 19th March 1968.

Modern science and technology are the outcome of successive Industrial Revolutions of Europe and America. We have adopted them, yet have not wholly learnt to adapt them to our own circumstances. We must evolve approaches to technology which suit our social milieu.

Convocation Address on 13th April 1968.

If we are to understand the many dimensions of the role which natural science and technology can play in the progress of our societies, it is imperative that the social and historial sciences also be fully encouraged. Such an effort should be undertaken not only to provide insights into the nature and working of our social systems, but also to explore the psychological, social, economic and managerial dimensions of promoting and utilising natural science and technology.

Sometimes science and technology in India have tended to develop without adequate and deliberate correlationship between research expenditure on the one hand and priorities and programmes in planned

development on the other. There is a clearly established need to have stronger links between research and economic planning, to concentrate in priority areas, to co-ordinate efforts, and to use imported know-how largely as a base for further indigenous development. There is also much to be gained by adapting known knowledge to our own needs and circumstances.

India has had a long tradition of classical science and technology. But we must recognise the fact that despite the range and quality of our institutionalised research and education programmes, science, as an intellectual and social force, has not yet made adequate impact on the vast mass of our population. The 'third culture' of superstition, tradition and fatalism still has a hold on the individual and collective personalities of our people. Our scientific research cannot yield results unless our culture is cross-fertilised by what my father used to call the 'scientific temper'.

Speech on 10th August 1968.

The future of our society, its development and direction, is vitally linked with the activities of our scientists and technologists.

The interaction of science, technology and society is fascinating and complex. Science is supposed to be natural—morally and ideologically. But can it be independent of the social and cultural climate in which it operates?

One has a feeling that our scientists and technologists are so heavily pre-occupied with the limited framework of their own specializations and institutions, that they seem to regard the larger social and cultural setting, in which our country is cultivating and applying science and technology, as someone else's concern. Should this not be at

least as important to scientists as their immediate professional pursuits? For they can pursue their projects only so long as conditions in the country permit them to do.

We must rediscover the scientific and technological content of our past civilization. For centuries, science and technology were an intimate part of our culture. In fact until the very recent past, the science-technology-society link had been vital and productive. Historical studies have shown that as late as the 17th century, there was no resistance to technological change and innovation in a wide range of industries. In metallurgy, weapons manufacture, horticulture, ship-building, engineering and architecture, our society was not only absorbing inventions made in other cultures, but also innovating internally. This productive and creative capacity was the magnet which attracted European mercantile explorers to our shores.

No one can deny that science and technology are vital tools to solve the problems of poverty and to keep abreast of developments in other countries. Yet we cannot help noticing that single-minded concentration on a particular type of progress has not brought contentment in advanced countries. Increasingly, thinking people, young and old, are wondering what kind of living can preserve man's values against the domination of the very forces which he has created. Can we be true to ourselves and to the people whom we seek to serve, if knowingly we lead them to the tensions produced by over-emphasis on material progress and the negligence of harmonious development?

Speech on 3rd January 1971.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

Unless we can accelerate the pace of social change, our scientific activity will remain peripheral, and the country might be left farther behind.

A major role of the scientific community in any country, whether it be capitalist, socialist or communist, is to develop universal norms and a rational approach to social and economic problems. The oligarchical or hierarchical aspects of society do affect the scientific community. So, unless scientists are conscious of their responsibility to withstand the pressures of tradition and hierarchy, they cannot forge a community which is truly scientific in character.

The hierarchy of a scientific community is only to enable it to act purposefully and in unison, not to silence the voice of the dissident or the innovator. Obviously, once decisions are taken, all members of the scientific community must work together to the best of their ability for the accomplishment of given tasks. The real tests are whether or not the scientific community is dynamic and forward-looking, whether every scientist, regardless of his age or status, can present his views and feel that he is one of a team, whether there is opportunity for the full and unhindered blossoming of the considerable talent among our young scientists and technologists and whether the community is self-critical and capable of keeping itself abreast of, tand in tune with, new knowledge. In the scienific community at its best, we see thousands of scientists of various disciplines and levels of expertise working together voluntarily and harmoniously in such magnificent efforts as the Moon landings and the Venus and the Mars probes. Yet, the same community does discuss and criticise its own objectives and tasks without prejudice.

Speech on 4th January 1970.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

In modern science team work counts for as much as individual genius. The individual creates and transforms his environment to some extent but

he is also a creature of environment. While we should strive with determination and tenacity to improve our research institutions and to rid ourselves of the archaic administrative system we should not forget that we cannot yet provide everything required by talented scientists doing advanced work in various branches of knowledge.

Speech on 13th April 1968.

Organised research and education in science would catalyse structural changes in the social order which we have come to identify as the process of modernization.

Speech on 10th August 1968.

Industry must either do its own research and development or, if it lacks the means and the competence, must transmit its problems to research laboratories.

In the past it was only in the armed forces that large number of people could act coherently and in a disciplined manner. But in the large and the complex scientific and technological efforts of to-day, it is not governmental authority which makes such effort possible, but the voluntary inner discipline which is brought about by common objectives and by a rational approach. Discussion, analysis and criticism precede the initiation of any effort. In our country, this pre-project or pre-research discussion is generally absent in scientific laboratories as well as in larger technical projects. This arises partly from an apprehension that credit will not be given to the initiator of an idea if he discusses it with others, forgetting that the best ideas are those which survive criticism and are sharpened by discussion

In the long run, it is the ability of our scientists and technologists to develop the country's capability to absorb and improve technology which is relevant

to economic growth. Industry must be encouraged to refer problems to our laboratories. These laboratories will then be better able to master new techniques and to innovate. The younger generation of scientists will work more readily on new techniques and new problems, and will have more basic orientation, if they are encouraged to take up the problems of research which arise from the felt needs of industry. Such new orientation will enable our young scientists to gain experience much faster than by the traditional method which confines the younger scientist to problems which are formulated by his superiors.

Speech on 4th January 1970.

SCIENTISTS

Scientists to-day have a great responsibility because they are increasingly shaping the destiny of mankind. They have, in this sense, a great part to play and have great responsibilities.

Speech on 30th April, 1966.

Many of our scientists working within the country and some working abroad are rated amongst the world's leading scientists and can be the pride and adornment of any institution. We should do our utmost to give our best to the country and the world. There is no time to lose. Much despondency is due to the pattern of our administration in which the scientist is subordinated to the bureaucrat. But I must admit that sometimes when a person joins the Government he himself does not remain free from the limiting outlook of the bureaucracy. This climate is something which can be changed by decisive action, not only by the Government but by the scientists themselves. Government is certainly to blame and the responsibility must rest very much on them; but I

do not think that you can leave it entirely to Government. Achievement, in our conditions, takes three or four times more effort than in an advanced country. We have to fight the forces of inertia and resistance. And it is only when we can make this sort of effort, when some people are willing to face the challenge, the difficulties and the frustrations, that we will be able to make headway. I know that we do not lack in talents and I know that in spite of obstacles and difficulty young people are forging ahead.

Speech on 13th April 1968.

Large numbers of our trained scientists and technical personnel are being drawn to other countries. The nation needs their talent. Naturally, we are not in a position to offer the salaries or the opportunities which are available in the developed countries. But lack of encouragement and the denial of ordinary facilities aggravate the situation. This matter needs to be looked into carefully, and urgent steps taken to remedy the conditions of work of our bright young people. I believe that we cannot advance science in the country without involving our young scientists and technicians in policy-making decisions which have a bearing on science and technology.

I would not wish to confine the mind of the budding scientist within any narrow boundaries. The true scientist is one who rises above all barriers, pettiness and prejudice.

Our senior scientists have the great responsibility of creating an atmosphere of confidence to enable the younger generation to turn out original research and design work. Indeed, one of the greatest contributions that the older scientists can make, may well be to guide and inspire younger ones. Great scientists have been known by their disciples.

Speech on 3rd January 1969.

Scientist in India does not have the advantages of the scientists in the developed countries, that he has to work with limited resources, inadequate and sometimes antiquated equipment, that he has to face the scrutiny of the unimaginative and the un-understanding. This is the challenge of contemporary India. We expect from our scientists the devotion to science as well as to their country which will enable them to face this challenge to be partners in the gigantic task of reforming an ancient society through consent and co-operation. And this we must do by remaining vibrantly and dynamically Indian, by swimming away the cobwebs of superstition, hypocrisy and humbug, which were no part of the basic Indian view of life, and which have shrouded our thinking for so long and have taken us away from the roots of our culture. Indian man need have no conflict with modern man, or, for that matter, with universal man.

In every society there is a "minority in league with the future." The majority, which is almost always in thrall to the past, shows scant appreciation of these few. In fact in earlier ages, they were often regarded as mad or worse. The forces of the past are afraid of change and the fight against them is never an easy one. And yet it is inevitable. It is part of evolution. The scientist is as involved, as responsible as any other citizen. Can he afford to live in an ivory or a steel tower, ignorant of and unconcerned with what is happening around him? His future is tied up with the future of India.

Speech on 4th January 1970.

I have great respect, regard and admiration for scientists. In India I know that they work in very difficult circumstances. We are not able to give them the equipment they need. Sometimes we are not able to give them freedom they need. But I think that instead of being discouraged by it, we

should regard it as the greatest challenge It is easier to work in a bigger, better equipped laboratory. But some of the great discoveries and work of the world has been done in not so well-equipped laboratories. So, if we take it as a challenge, as all nations have been through these phases of scientific and technological development, and if we see that this challenge is a specific challenge related to a specific situation in our country, which is not duplicated anywhere else in the world, neither in the developed, advanced countries, nor in the devloping countries, then the challenge is all the greater. But I think that the rewards of bringing a better life to our people are also much greater than any scientist can dream of anywhere else in the world because we have so much more to do. Therefore, the doing of it is so much more worthwhile and rewarding.

I believe fully in the freedom to the scientist to do what he can best do or what attracts or interests him most. But we cannot ignore the compulsion of situation and of our times. Whenever we think of science and technology, the major question that crops up is science and technology for whom and for what purpose? These are questions which are not new. They have troubled the scientific community for a long time, but, I think, the community and the general public is becoming more aware of them to-day because we see the results of some of very important scientific works all over the world.

With the same experiment, the same process can be used for good or it can be used for evil and that is not always in the hands of the scientists. The scientist is a citizen of the country and of the world. So, he can no more shake off his responsibility for his own work than can those who use that work for evil purposes

Speech on 28th November 1970.

Science can and must cement society around a new set of values. The search for truth and the verification of evidence are major values of science. A true scientist is always ready to discard even a lifetime's work, when a new fact which negates his assumptions is discovered. But the constant re-examination of beliefs is not amongst the virtues of people at large, here or elsewhere. In our country, some are too prone to act on hearsay or out of intolerance. Agitations in defence of superstitions or unfounded reports are not unknown. Democracy is based on the assumption that the other person could be as right as oneself. Our scientists should not hesitate to shoulder the responsibility of promoting a temper of tolerance and respect for facts.

Speech on 3rd January 1971.

SECULARISM

Our political edifice rests on secularism and religious equality.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

On the issue of what we call secularism, we can never be aligned with any party which believes in one religion or one race or one language. This is the very basis of secularism, democracy and socialism.

Speech on 13th December 1969.

Secularism is one of the man pillars of our society. By this we do not mean lack of religion but, on the contrary, equal respect to all religions. This is necessary in a multi-religious society such as ours.

Speech on 5th June 1970.

SEERS

All seers mould men's minds.

Convocation Address an 24th December 1966.

SELF-CONFIDENCE

It is not by decrying ourselves that we can build national self-confidence. This can be done by acknowledging the achievements and by being aware of the deficiencies.

Speech on 15th March 1969.

SELF-HELP

Friends will help only if they are convinced that we are doing our best to help ourselves.

Speech on 9th April 1966.

I would appeal to the educated people not to hanker after Government jobs. They should try and create new opportunities for themselves. There is ample scope for them in our developing economy. They should develop a spirit of self-help and self-reliance.

Speech on 15th August 1968.

I should like our young men to try more for self-employment. More and more of them should try to set up their own trades and industries and not try only for what they consider to be a secure job.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

SELFISHNESS

The only dividing line in India is between those who think and feel in terms of the totality of our national interest and endeavour, and those who are guided by particularism of one sort or another. I am strongly opposed to the latter and I make no secret of this.

Speech on 30th March 1968.

SELF-RELIANCE

A self-reliant economic base can be built only by self-reliant individuals. So, it is important that the

young entrepreneurs should rely on themselves and not wish to run to Government to solve grievances, some of which may be real and some of which may be exaggerated.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

We may get some of our necessary things from the developed countries but the developed countries can also not exist without a great deal of things from the other countries. We have to see that the relationship is such that it cannot force us into any position which is not in our interest. This is where we have to be firm, and that is why we want to be self-reliant in all the essentials so that at no time can anybody say: Well, you need this, you cannot get it until you do such thing. This is the position which we have avoided and which we will continue to avoid.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

We want millions of self-reliant men and women. Able young people should be persuaded to make their own opportunities.

Speech on 5th December 1970.

SLAVERY

While there is bondage anywhere, we ourselves cannot be fully free. While there is oppression anywhere, we ourselves cannot soar high.

Speech on 24th January 1969.

SLOGANS

What can be more easy in a country like India to arouse people emotionally with slogans of religion, with slogans of language or with other regional interests? These are some of the matters which come in the way of our progress and of speedy development.

Speech on 21 May 1970.

SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES

We must harness the skill, drive and initiative of the thousands of imaginative small-scale entrepreneurs up and down the country to better purpose.

Broadcast on 12th June 1966.

SOCIAL BARRIERS

Social barriers need to be broken, new sensitivity needs to be nurtured.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

SOCIAL EQUALITY

We have not yet found one thing without which we shall never be able to enjoy the sweetness of Freedom. It is social equality.

Speech on 26th June 1966.

SOCIALISM

We have accepted the socialist path because we feel that there is no other way of eradicating poverty. Democracy is the base of our socialism. Democracy confers many rights on the individual. These rights have corresponding duties. Our greatest duty is to help the nation achieve progress.

Speech on 15th August 1966.

When we use the word "socialism", we use it to mean primarily the welfare of the entire Indian people, of the vast masses who live in the villages, of those who are called landless labour and who, perhaps, bear the heaviest brunt of poverty. We must do our best to work for their welfare and of those who work in factories.

Speech on 12th March 1967.

What is socialism ? There are differing definitions. A simple definition of socialism is that poverty should be eradicated; disparities between the rich and the poor should be reduced; the backward

people—be they *Harijans, Adivasis* or the hill people—should have equal opportunities to make progress; and there should be equal distribution of national resources. This is our socialism and that is our goal. We want to achieve this goal rapidly.

Speech on 15th August 1967.

We have never thought in terms of taking away land from the common cultivator. In the industrial sector, there has been a steady progress in the share of the public sector in the total investment and product. Thirdly, our socialism aims at the gradual but decisive reduction of inequalities of opportunities and incomes.

Asia Magazine, 19th July 1968.

What is our socialism ? It means that the State takes upon itself the responsibility for wiping out poverty, for initiating steps which will increase production, for modernizing our economy by establishing key modern industries, for enforcing social purpose in all economic activities, for reducing disparities and setting right the historic inequalities between different classes and different regions, and in particular for checking and preventing the growth of monopoly.

Now all this is the responsibility of the State but it is also the responsibility of industry and of all those who are interested in the growth of the nation.

In India we have taken the socialist path. Our socialism does not envisage choking of private initiative In fact we have stood and we do stand now for a mixed economy in which both the public and private sectors are active. We do not want the State to do everything because apart from this not being possible, the State is not able to undertake everything. It is also not desirable for the State to do everything.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

We talk of socialism, of equality, but we almost always think of it merely in terms of the economic programmes. Can there be equality if someone says: "This man cannot drink when I am drinking, this man cannot sit with me when I am sitting ?" It is not a matter of what economic programmes we have. If this situation continues, as it does in some parts of our country, you cannot have democracy, no matter with what value your Parliament or your Assemblies work. So these are fundamental matters to which we have to give thought.

Speech on 21st May 1970.

SOCIALIST PATTERN

Socialist pattern of society did impose on us the obligation to bring the strategic areas of our economy under State ownership and control. It also meant that the Government had and has an obligation to take remedial measures to ensure that our political democracy is not eroded by economic distortions.

Speech in Parliament on 7th August 1969

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Our dreams are for an India rid of poverty, for an India where political liberty, economic equality and social justice prevail. By building such an India we shall be strong; but even to build such an India we need to be strong. We desire the development of our national and individual life, but defence to-day is the yoke-fellow of development. Our strength should be thought of not only in terms of the ability of our valient fighting forces, it consists equally in our ability to maintain order and domestic peace, in our devotion to the task of increasing production and improving skills, in our resolve to attain speedy self-reliance. The frontiers of freedom are within our minds, not along some river or mountain All over the country there is

similar progress and a spread of the sense of social equality. There is no justification for gloom or defeatism.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

Social justice obviously demands an increase in the standards of consumption of the poorer sections of the community and this in turn calls for an increase in the availability of food-grains, cloth and other essentials.

Speech in Parliament on 8th May 1969.

We think we can have stability and progress only if we take a particular economic path—the path of socialism through which we give social justice to our people. It is the same social justice in the international sphere for which we stand. We believe that while there are poor nations and rich nations, there is bound to be tension.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

SOCIAL WORK

It does happen that when ideas become institutionalised, a certain matter-of-factness comes in. This is human nature. But the entire function of social work has been to combat the consequences of insensitiveness and cynicism that is often dismissed as human nature. I know that it is not always possible to continue causes with the missionary zeal with which they were begun, but with better organisation, they should give better appreciation, rationalisation and, therefore, a better solution of the existing problems.

Social welfare organisations must devote their attention to combating superstition and bringing about a rational attitude. Social service organisations can also do much to popularise scientific thinking in regard to the matters of daily life. As a people we need to pay far greater attention to

health and education This involves creating a right environment, habits of daily life and social outlook so that we can ensure for ourselves and our neighbourhood proper sanitation, better nutrition and health.

With our engrossment with politics and economic activity we are not giving enough thought to well-directed and purposive social change. But change is coming about on its own because of our own development and because world events constantly impinge on our own life and society.

We should not be content with grants but think always of the purpose behind this activity which is bringing about social change.

Speech on 17th February 1970.

SOCIETY

Society is changing and, in a sense, all societies are transitional. They are always changing since each generation has newer ideas.

Speech on 24th June 1966.

A changing society is not always as well administered as a static society.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

No group can be denied its right of service and self-fulfilment. In seeking to realise its full potential, every group must serve the larger interests of society.

Neither justice nor economic progress are ends in themselves. They are only the means for the creation of a more civilised society.

Speech on 14th March 1970.

We all desire the same material good, the same mental solace. But to attain these, we pursue different paths. But whatever the path, the type of

society we want to build should be a society in which there is equality, justice and full opportunity for the blossoming of the human personality.

Broadcast on 19th July 1970.

SOLUTION

Solution cannot satisfy everybody, not even satisfy any one party fully. We should try and find solutions which will leave as little bitterness as possible.

Speech on 21st March 1970.

SPACE SCIENCE

The nations of the world do not know enough about one another. Misunderstandings multiply, and fear and jealousy breed tensions. This is an area where science, and space science in particular, offers the hope of building new bridges of understanding. With satellite communications and satellite television, the world as a community of people can draw closer. However, there is also the danger that prejudice might also be multiplied by the wrong use of this new opportunity for global mass communication.

Ultimately, it is the quality of man that matters more than the instruments he uses.

Speech on 2nd Febıuaıy 1968.

SPACE TRAVELLERS

The space travellers are the heroes of our times and the young everywhere are inspired by their example.

This is surely the greatest and the most daring of scientific feats. It is a proud moment for the people of the United States and, indeed, for the mankind.

Speech in Parliament on 21st July 1969.

SPECIALIZATION

While specialized jobs do require expertise, the assumption that specialization is the key to success is an over-simplification in our complex world. Mere specialization precludes comprehensive thinking.

It often prevents us from taking an overall and integrated view of the techno-economic advantages which come to society from many different specializations. Thus, we are apt to deal with most problems in isolation rather than in perspective and in the process the whole as well as the part suffers. Life is a continuous and changing process and all parts of it are inter-linked—each one constantly acting and reacting on the other. Even specialized disciplines are being merged into even more inclusive field of consideration. Therefore, whether from the point of view of being more effective in one's work or the larger aspect of the future, which we wish to mould, people must have a wider focus than the merely professional.

Speech on 21st May 1971.

SPIRIT

Development cannot and should not neglect the spirit.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

SPRING

Spring is the time and symbol of nature's re-birth

Convocation Address on 9th February 1970.

STABILITY

A stable India is not only necessary for us and our development, but is equally necessary for stability in Asia.

Speech on 7th November 1966.

I should like you to note that stability cannot be and should not be equated with the perpetuation of the *status quo*. Stability cannot be brought about if the present inequalities are allowed to remain or to grow. Unless we take note of the aspirations of the people and engineer change peacefully, we shall be overtaken by events by far greater violence than you have seen to-day.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

STANDARD OF LIVING

At every step we must ensure that the process of attaining a higher material standard of living does not impinge on man's personality, does not give him a feeling of alienation from his society and his environment, but, on the other hand, helps him to be a participant in development and enrich his spirit.

Speech on 4th June 1971.

STATEMENTS

Why do Government of India not wish to make categorical statements sometimes? Because it is not in our interest to be known as being stuck to any given position. When we are rigid, it helps those who are against us. They will have manoeuvrability and can move about, while we are stuck. We become a good target for anybody.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

STATISTICIANS

Statisticians should educate the people against the danger of oversimplifications. They should also remember—and help people to remember—that the figures which they employ deal with living problems of human beings and not inert abstractions. For example, in a population census an individual might be reduced to a figure, but he continues to exist in a world of reality with his own motivation, hope,

fear, success and failure. In this sense, the 550 million people of India represent as many problems, together with their action and interaction Non-statisticians often make rude remarks about statistics. However, none can deny that the complexity can be grasped only with the help of statistics which will facilitate rational decisions at social, economic and political levels.

Speech on 16th November 1970.

STRIKES

Strikes and destruction of public property anywhere constitute an unproductive, self-inflicted tax on every Indian.

Broadcast on 7th August 1966

Let us be frank enough to recognize that increase in the intensity and duration of stoppages of work has prevented our economy from realizing its full potential. Whichever party to the dispute may have emerged victorious from these confrontations, so far as the nation is concerned, the strikes have inflicted unmitigated loss. We need industrial harmony not for the benefit of the classes who control the means of production, not for the further advancement of the affluent sections of the seciety, but, for the sake of the poorer masses, who suffer an erosion of their low standards of living as a result of these interruptions in production. The unemployed whose only hope lies in a higher rate of capital formation and investment, whether in the public or in the private sector, suffer most in the process.

Speech on 20th May 1971.

STRUGGLE

Freedom struggle was the people's struggle; the people were fully aware of the goals to be achieved and were fully prepared for the effort required in

reaching these goals. We need to-day a similar awareness and a similar effort on the part of the people to solve present-day problems. We must have a clear picture of what we want to achieve, what are the difficulties before us, and how we are going to overcome these difficulties.

Speech on 11th June 1966.

Rural folk are aware of the difficulty of having to wade or swim across swollen rivers and rivulets during the monsoon. The current flows most swiftly in midstream and it is there too that the water is deepest. India is in a somewhat similar situation. We are in midstream. I have no doubt that, given courage and determination, the people of India will be able to cross the deep waters and reach the other bank. We connot afford to look back; we cannot afford to wait even for a single second. We must continue our progress. We must cross the swollen river. Once across, our progress will be easier.

Speech on 15th August 1967.

It is not smoothness which makes for action. It is struggle, adversity and friction that help people to grow and develop. So we should not be afraid of struggle, but welcome it If we face struggle with courage and with faith in ourselves, then it will help us to grow in strength. It will help us in whatever we do.

Convocation Address on 16th November 1968.

STUDENTS

The student stage is the stage of preparation.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

What is the problem before the nation to-day? The problem is to build—not to break and to bring down but to construct and to raise. And this is something which we expect from our universities and students.

We have a great deal of student trouble all over the country. Part of it reflects a much bigger problem, the restlessness that exists amongst young people all over the world. Partly, it is due to the specific difficulties which we face here. Everywhere we go there is some section or the other which is demanding something. Many of these demands may be perfectly justified.

Speech on 6th June 1967.

SUITABILITY

What is important is to get the right man on the right job.

Speech on 24th June 1966.

SUPERSTITION

We must ever renew and cleanse all that is mere superstition or meaningless ritual, accumulated and petrified over the centuries.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

Science is the enemy of superstition. But superstition comes from dead habit and ignorance, and the inability to distinguish between out-worn beliefs and values which are timeless.

Speech on 2nd February 1968.

It is well to remember that not all our old beliefs are superstitious. Our philosophy and tradition have given fortitude and strength to our people and have enabled our civilisation to survive through the ages.

Asia Magazine, 19th July 1968.

One of the great struggles which we in the newly free countries have to wage is against the forces of superstition. Seeds of dissension, whether in the name of religion, caste or language, threaten national integrity and freedom.

Speech on 17th November 1970.

SWADESHI

Swadeshi is a part of Gandhiji's message. The country is faced with economic difficulties. We can improve the economic situation by imbibing the spirit of *swadeshi*. *Swadeshi* does not mean that we do not import at all. It only means that we should exercise the utmost economy, patronise our own goods and make full use of available resources. If, however, it becomes necessary to import with a view to learning new techniques, we should not hesitate to do so. The respnosibility for popularizing the *swadeshi* movement does not rest with the Government alone. Every citizen, be he a villager or a town-dweller, has to play an important part in popularizing it.

Speech on 15th August 1966.

The idea of *swadeshi* was born in Bengal.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

In the economic sphere, our goal is *swadeshi* and *arthik swarajya* (economic independence), and we mean to demonstrate that self-reliance is as much a process as an objective.

Broadcast on 15th March 1967.

We must pursue a new *Swadeshi* policy and fully harness our growing productive capacity and technological and creative skills.

Speech on 8th April 1967.

We have all certain common tasks and imperatives. The foremost of them is to develop greater pride in Indian products and Indian skills.

Convocation Address on 13th April 1968.

TALENT

Some people have complained that we have not done enough to encourage talent among our people.

I think what has happened in respect of new skills is something miraculous, something phenomenal. It is true that talented individuals are sometimes ignored or not made use of. That is one of the reasons why our efficiency has not gone up.

Speech on 25th July 1966.

Talent is not a gift of birth but grows with training.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

TARGET

There is much talk of strengthening the country. This is very important. For otherwise, everyone will try to knock us down, politically, economically, psychologically We must use every means to build up ourselves, to make the country strong. We must have a high target.

Speech on 25th July 1966.

TAXATION

It is popular not to levy new taxes or to reduce their incidence. But a responsible government has to be guided by the basic interests of the people. We must proceed with our development and not hesitate and falter in mobilising resources required for the purose. Taxation must be viewed as a necessary means to this end

Speech on 12th March 1966.

Taxation is not merely an instrument of transferring resources from the people to the Government. It is also an instrument for transferring resources from the rich to the poor, and from consumption to investment. It is the mechanism through which services as varied as defence, roads and education are paid for.

What the level of taxation should be at any given time calls for a deep study of the prevailing

situation as well as of the direction in which the economy should be moving at that point of time.

A sectional or a static view can be dangerous. If we think only in terms of to-day, we might seem to be better off if taxes were reduced. But the results to-morrow may be very different.

One can sympathize with tax-payers. But can one ignore the fact that those who pay taxes are far too few, those who ought to pay are many, and those who just cannot pay number millions?

Taxation should not be considered as an issue between the Government which levies it and the business, the industry and the consumer who pay it, but should be viewed in terms of its impact on the economy, in terms of whether it acts as an accelerator or as a brake on the economy.

Speech on 30th March 1968.

TECHNOLOGY

The purpose of technology is to make and provide the goods and tools which a society needs. In so doing it goes beyond the merely utilitarian. In the advanced countries, technology has increased the area of choice and satisfaction for people. It has begun to do so in our own country.

Convocation Address on 18th November 1967.

Technology is moving ahead with giant strides in every direction and, day by day, new opportunities are opening up before us. What we need is the availability of large quantities of power at very low prices, which would influence changes in technology and stimulate the development of a new technology.

Speech on 22nd November 1967.

Technology is a key to knowledge that opens the door to plenty as well as power. In a sense it is a

key to independence, for it was the failure to advance technologically which made Asia and Africa dependent and poverty-stricken.

As a tool of social progress, modern technology can be zealous and demanding. It is influencing the nature and content of society and the character of political and cultural relationships. Whether we admit it or not, our lives are being increasingly governed as much by technology as by politics and economics. The modern industrial society, which it supports, has its own ethos and social dynamism. The compulsions of industrial organisation tend to create similar social organisms. Yet it would be a pity for us to allow technology and industry, and the organisation of a mass-consumption society to destroy individuality and the diversity which adds richness to the lives of men and of nations.

Technology points the way to a better and happier world; but it also vests man with the tolls of self-destruction. The immense power of science for good or for ill makes it imperative to temper science with humanism. Although science has explained Nature in so many aspects, its very success has enhanced our wonder at the Universe, and made us conscious of an infinite order in the cosmos.

Speech on 2nd February 1968.

No resource, natural or man-made, is usable without technology.

Convocation Address on 13th April 1968.

Industry should devote a greater quantum of resources to improvement of our own technology. If we must import technology, we should do so as cheaply as possible.

Speech on 16th March 1969.

I am one of those people who are always for the latest techniques for taking the nation forward in technology and other fields. I think that we should certainly benefit from the research and the work done in other countries and from the techniques which they have evolved—but not at the cost of our own evolution, not at the cost of our own people doing research, trying to find new ways of doing things.

In the changing society of to-day the new elite are the entrepreneurs and the technologists. In the situation which exists in our country these two have a very special responsibility to society.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

Man's needs go beyond his material wants. We in India must attempt to re-adapt technology, and place man and his spirit at the centre of science. It is up to us to see that in the pursuit of the material necessities of life, we do not lose our human values, or our distinctiveness as individuals and as a nation. To find this new path is perhaps the greatest challenge to Indian scientists and technologists.

Spech on 3rd January 1971.

Technology has brought in regimentation, it has tried to squash the individual, and I think we have to find a way where the individual has an important place. I think this is the basic ideal of Indian philosophy also—giving a place to the individual.

Interview to Dr. Gisela Bonn, German Journalist.

TELEVISION

We are examining the possibility of developing a national television network through a satellite distribution system. We envisage television as an aid to education and development and as a force for national integration.

Speech on 2nd February 1968.

TENSION

Tension between continuity and change, between high expectations and limited means is inevitable. Yet a forward movement, a growing sense of interdependence, of unity and of working together are perceptible even in the midst of agitations and clashes. Life in India may not be easy but it certainly is interesting and challenging.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

TEXT-BOOKS

The text-books have an important role in informing young minds on the importance of unity. There are certain text-books, the contents of which are not what they should be. There is a lot of misinformation about other States. There has also been an effort, right here in Delhi, of rewriting some parts of the country's history. These are dangerous tendencies we must fight against, without wishing to gag anybody. Any tendency which will weaken the unity of the people should not be allowed to gain strength.

THINKING

The world is neither good nor bad. It is what we ourselves make of it.

Convocation Address on 24th December 1966.

Unless our thinking is clear on the perspective before man, we shall repeat the mistakes of others, become bad imitators and waste-makers.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

Everything in life, whether it is happiness, whether it is entertainment, whether it is hardship, is a question of how you look at it in your mind.

Speech on 11th November 1967.

THOUGHT AND ACTION

Thought and action must arise out of a searching analysis of social forces. It is this search which produced in France the leaders of Revolution. In Russia, it produced Lenin and Gorky. In India, Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru. At the most significant and creative phases of history, the man of action and the man of ideas do not live in isolation. They work together and take the people with them. They lead revolutions. Or if their effort is allied to sensibility, as poets and writers, they become powerful instruments of change.

Speech on 17th November 1970.

TOURISM

It is necessary to provide facilities to attract a larger volume of middle-class traffic, not only from the West but from Asia and Africa. This involves cheap but clean hotels, low-priced package tours and so on. A system of paying guests can also be organised.

In India, tourism does not enjoy adequate priority even now and the rate of growth of tourism declined from 20 per cent in 1956-61 to under 10 per cent during 1961-65.

International tourism is world's single largest 'export' industry and enjoys the highest rate of growth.

The world does not know enough about India and the tremendous range and variety it has to offer. The Taj is famous. But even Ajanta and Ellora are not so well known. Nor is it easy to reach them. Here, publicity is very important. It has been suggested that we might get well-known film producers to make some travel and holiday feature films with an Indian setting.

Stress should be laid on simplified procedures and provision of amenities and comforts. Beautifying surroundings, new constructions harmonising with the environment, development of interesting and specialised eating places and hotels, improvement of existing dak-bungalows, planning and highlighting certain festivals are some of the steps which should be taken to attract more tourists.

Speech on 28th October 1966.

We want that people of other countries should visit our country. We want that tourists should come to our country.

Speech in Parliament on 12th December 1967.

Tourist buildings should certainly have all the modern amenities, but they should also blend with their surroundings

Speech on 8th July 1969.

TRADE UNIONS

Trade union leaders owe allegiance to different political ideologies. Such diversity is expected in an open democratic society. I do hope, however, that within the broad spectrum of organised political opinion, there is a basic unity of purpose and a determination to jointly explore avenues of co-operation in tackling our problems of poverty and social injustice.

Trade Union leaders have always been in the vanguard of progressive forces in our public life. Whatever their other differences, they have stood for the uplift of the poorer sections of society and for the subordination of personal to larger interests.

Trade Unions should interpret their responsibilities in a wider sense and work towards securing for labour an increasing equitable share of progressively rising national product.

Speech on 20th May 1971.

I am a believer in Trade Union rights and I think it is legitimate that they should fight for their rights.

Speech on 22nd May 1971.

TRADITION

Tradition is itself the product of a continuous evolution.

Tradition is not static, it does not mean being caught in the past. Tradition can also be movement.

Convocation Address on 8th January 1967.

Much of what is called tradition in our country is no more than a fossilisation of thought and habit. These layers of superstition and dead habit have no meaning in our times or relevance to our needs. They impede the growth of science and the scientific temper. This dichotomy between our social life and scientific needs has to be overcome.

Speech on 3rd January 1968.

TRANSFORMATION

To-day in India we are witnessing a many-sided transformation of society—a transformation which poses challenges and provides opportunities. It is for the captains of industry to formulate their responses. Life is not easy in India, but it is challenging and it is exciting.

Speech on 5th December 1970.

TRAVELS

It has been my privilege to travel to many far countries. Not only did these journeys help me to find out more about these lands and their peoples, but I could view my own feelings with more comprehension. Even, as the astronauts from high, see

the whole world, most of us can understand ourselves better from an occasional perspective of distance.

Convocation Address on 15th February 1969.

TRUTH

Only through truth can untruth be vanquished.

Speech on 24th January 1969.

Science is the search for truth. We can practise it only if we value the truth. But truth is an individual value and can "become a source of social value only when a society accepts the assumption that no people will survive if society conflicts with what is true."

Speech on 4th January 1970.

UNDERSTANDING

Understanding is a part of maturity because there can be no maturity without understanding.

Speech on 11th November 1967.

UNEMPLOYMENT

We have the problem of educated unemployment. It has arisen because education itself has expanded enormously, and the development of our industries and our economy has not been able to keep pace with the rising number of educated young people. But one small cause is also that many of our educated young people wish to have only a particular type of job, a white-collar job. They want to work in particular places and cities rather than in villages or in the hills. We have areas in India which are in need of engineers, of doctors, of mechanics, and other such specialised people. And yet we have groups here who are unemployed.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

Every solution creates new problems. The expansion of education swells the number of educated unemployed.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

The problem of educated unemployment is a grave one. Some of it is certainly due to the recession and our other economic difficulties of the last few years. But part of the blame must also go to our system of education which does not provide specific qualifications ; which often inculcates an attitude of mind which hankers after office jobs, instead of encouraging self-reliance, resourcefulness and a spirit of adventure.

Convocation Address on 14th November 1969.

Our most urgent problems to-day are unemployment and inequality. The people are asking questions to which answers can be found only if politics and science work together.

Speech on 4th January 1970.

The problem which is causing the greatest concern to us in Government—and to the industry—is the unemployment of educated young people, especially those who have undergone technical courses. These young men and women have talents which the country needs and which industry certainly needs. Had there been no drought and recession, the problem would perhaps not have been of quite this magnitude. As the programmes of development regain their tempo, the demand for technicians will also grow. But right now we do have a special problem and we need special expedients. The initiative taken by some industrial houses to give practical training to technical graduates, which will help them to be absorbed later in industry or to enable them to set up small industries of their own, is welcome.

Speech on 14th March 1970.

The frustrations of the educated young unemployed pose special problems and the reduction of unemployment must be one of the principal methods of achieving equity.

Speech on 5th December 1970.

In a country where there are millions of unemployed and underemployed, what is needed is a fair distribution of opportunities for gainful employment. In this sense, the employed particularly in the organized sector, who enjoy a measure of social security, should recognize that in our country to be employed is in itself a privilege. Hence they should not seek unilateral gains for themselves but have some compassion for those who are willing to work yet are not able to do so because of the comparatively low rate of capital formation in our country.

Speech on 20th May 1971.

UNITY

Unity has meaning only if it is with understanding of the objectives and methods of working together towards a common goal.

Speech on 12th March 1967.

When we speak of unity, we have to see that we transcend our narrow Party interests and reject any course which brings our system into contempt or creates the slightest feeling of insecurity in any citizen of India.

Speech in Parliament on 20th February 1969.

No industry can prosper, no development can take place, unless an atomsphere of unity and of working together exists.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

Let us be one, let us be courageous and let us march forward.

Speech on 15th August 1971.

UNIVERSITIES

Universities have an obligation to society as tourch-bearers of social progress. The knowledge they impart has relevance to the great problem of living a purposive life in a changing world. Universities must ask themselves how far their work have given a new direction to the thought and action of the younger generation, how far they have shaped the higher intelligence of the nation or prepared it for the major tasks of our age.

Ultimately new life can come to our universities only through a new social awareness of our intellectual needs, a new concern for the proper utilization of formal learning in a developing society.

Universities reflect the situation which exists in the rest of society.

The major task of educationists is to stress creative aspect of university life.

A university is a fellowship of scholars who are engaged in the pursuit of knowledge at the highest level. It is a corporation of students, of teachers, of specialists and research scholars. It may primarily concern itself with higher learning, but the fruits of its intellectual labours must have an impact on individual and social life. An educated society is a society of refined men and women who believe in the processes of a civilized and democratic life. It has no place for violence. It knows how to handle the instruments of public life for the largest measure of private happiness. The leaders of such a society must come from universities.

It is in the universities more than anywhere else that the disinterested pursuit of ideals, unaffected by tensions or pressures, is possible.

Convocation Address on 24th December 1966.

Those entrusted with the burden of practical affairs must take their problems to the universities. Universities in turn must teach men to see things in perspective. Implicit in the idea of a university is the habit of looking at least two or three generations ahead.

Convocation Address on 18th November 1967.

I am always glad to visit a centre of learning, and a convocation, for all its formality symbolises the link between knowledge and life. An agricultural university in particular must deepen our roots in life and make our land truly what Bankim Chandra Chatterji called it, 'bounteous in water and in produce and gloriously green.'

A university passes on the knowledge of earlier generation to a new generation.

Convocation Address on 10th February 1969.

A measure which is essential to achieve the much needed break-through in higher education is the important role which the universities can and should play in accelerating the processes of modernization. It is their responsibility to cultivate science and to promote what has been called the scientific temper in our people. The stranglehold of obscurantism must be loosened. We must dispel material irrational fears and superstitions, fatalism and passive resignation. It is a duty of universities to make the people more deeply conscious of the powerful forces of social change which have begun to operate in Indian society and the challenges which they create, so that our people are enabled to fight narrow-mindedness of all kinds : casteism, communalism, regionalism, linguism and all such divisive and retrograde forces.

Universities must promote a deeper understanding of our international relations and of our role in

world community, because no country can afford to live in isolation in a universe where man has already landed on the moon.

Convocation Address on 14th November 1969.

UNTOUCHABILITY

There are laws against untouchability but quiet breach of them continues in many places. People cannot leave it to the Government to take action whereas it is they themselves who should take action in the field of social welfare particularly. Government initiative alone is not enough. People and Government must strengthen each other's hands and act in the fullest co-ordination.

Speech on 17th February 1970.

It should be our endeavour, our duty, to see that feelings of untouchability are wiped out from the minds of Indian citizens. Only then can we see that all the Indian people are able to enjoy the rights and privileges which Freedom has given them.

Speech in Parliament on 5th September 1970.

UPLIFT

True uplift means that we end the traditional prejudices and discrimination.

Speech in Parliament on 12th August 1967.

VIOLENCE

Violence is man's main problem.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

Violence is not our way of life. It is foreign to us and we want to keep it away from us. Violence constitutes a danger to our democratic system.

Speech on 7th November 1966.

It is a matter for regret that in this land of the Buddha, Akbar and Gandhi, there should be violence It is inevitable that in a country of the size of India, there should be differences among various sections of the people. These differences should be settled across the table. It is the duty of every citizen to assist in this process. We should help create conditions in which violence does not thrive; we should not allow riots to take place. A vast majority of our people are peace-loving. Why is it that a handful of people are able to disturb peace?

Speech on 15th August 1968.

Some people are chronic anarchists while others echo the catch-phrases of other lands. I was alarmed to see a recent survey made of the thinking of Calcutta students, some of whom are reported to have said that they believe in violence.

The argument of violence is not new to us. And our experience shows that the weeds of violence can never make for a field of promise and plenty.

Convocation Address on 15th February 1969.

We want a democratic socialist India where every citizen has an equal place, where full opportunity of work and growth will prevail, and where our vital impulses are directed to creative and co-operative endeavour. These great tasks cannot be achieved in an atmosphere of insecurity or violence.

Broadcast on 19th July 1970.

WANTS

The creation of new wants can stimulate and enlarge the motivation to work and to earn more.

Speech on 28th September 1966.

WAR

The only way to have a clean war is not to have a war at all.

Speech on 9th September 1970.

Wars have taken place and I am one of those who believe that war at any time is wrong. But still a war can be fought. If you are attacked, you must defend yourself.

Speech on 21st May 1970.

WEALTH

We now have a situation in which people do not know what to do with money. You go to our cinema houses and hotels, they are all full. There are so many new restaurants, all chock-full with people, not only in big towns like Delhi and Bombay but also in small and far off places. All our hill stations are crowded. Where does this spending come from? Not from Tatas and Birlas. This money should be mopped up and put to productive use.

Speech on 25th July 1966.

Material abundance does not necessarily go with human happiness.

Speech on 11th December 1966.

It is the ostentatious display of wealth which more than anything else causes the social tensions.

Speech on 25th October 1969.

WEALTH OF INDIA

It is the duty of every engineer and technologist to help the country to use resources economically. The wealth beneath the surface of the earth, the wealth of the forests, the wealth of the rivers, all this belongs more to posterity than to us. We have no right to squander it.

Convocation Address on 18th November 1967.

WEAPONS OF DESTRUCTION

Mankind has accumulated such a fearful store of weapons of destruction that I sometimes wonder whether we have any right to hope.

Contribution to the Book 'Gandhi—100 Years', published in 1968.

WESTERNISATION

To-day to be civilised is held to be synonymous with being Westernized. Advanced countries devote large resources to formulating and spreading ideas and doctrines and they tend to impose on the developing nations their own norms and methods. The pattern of the classical acquisitive society with its deliberate multiplication of wants not only is unsuited to conditions in our countries but is positively harmful.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

WIDER OUTLOOK

All our difficulties, our instability and our tensions have their origin in our attempts to lay the foundations of an industrial society, to democratise our political and social institutions and to set up nation States, so that the minds of our men and women become freed from local, religious, tribal or caste feelings, so that their concept of citizenship may become a more effective force.

Speech on 30th April 1966.

A very important task is precisely to induce every young person to go outside the narrow framework of his own personality, to go beyond the present, and to think in terms of the community and of those who will come after him.

Speech on 27th September 1966.

If one looks at the problems of our country in the light of reason and rationality, one is bound to

recognize the fact that there can be no salvation for any one part of India unless there is salvation for the country as a whole.

Speech on 26th September 1967.

WILD LIFE

India is indeed fortunate in having a great variety of plants, trees and animals. This should have been a source of pride and joy to us. But, unfortunately, there is hardly any appreciation of this bounty and beauty. We should aim at conserving what is available to us and, if possible, to add to it so that the coming generations do not have less but more.

The two great enemies of wild life are economic progress and greed; also, ignorance and insensitivity. But if progress is well-planned, there need not be a danger to wild life or natural beauty. Sometimes our engineers or administrators or dam-builders do not have any reverence for Nature. I entirely agree that if it is a question of the needs of man, we cannot sacrifice people to animals, however beautiful or useful. But I do not think there need be this conflict. Whenever dams and projects are located in the midst of forests, care should be taken to make provision for the planting of trees in such a way that the animal life can be rehabilitated in other parts.

It is naturally important that not only engineers and administrators but all of us should be given special instructions regarding wild life preservation and conservation of trees and plants. I would like to see that the State Governments are urged to set up bird sanctuaries and wild life parks near some of the new dams and reservoirs. I hope that high priority will be given to this and that the State Governments will seek the advice of wild life experts.

I love Nature and feel the deep concern for the manner in which wild life is being gradually destroyed, not intentionally but through, perhaps, lack of knowledge on the part of public and people who live around.

Forests, and the wild life that exists in them, are not only beautiful to see but they are also of great value to us in a variety of ways.

We all know that in the last century many countries have suffered because of the impatience of those who traded in animal skins, furs, and so on. Even the need for foreign exchange does not justify the killing of tigers and leopards and other such valuable animals in a manner that they become extinct.

I hope that close co-ordination will be kept with the Departments of Education in various States to see that, though it does not become a separate subject, something about our wild life is taught to our children along with language lessons or in some other context. It is very important that the children should learn to recognise our birds and animals and plants and should know their value.

Speech on 8th July 1969.

WOMEN OF INDIA

In few countries do women hold higher position in politics and public life than in India. But this should not lead us to think that the old inequalities and disabilities from which the women of India suffered have all ended. Ours is a country in which oppositions and contradictions thrive, and nowhere is this more so than as regards women. If we have women who are among the most progressive in the world, we also have women who are among the most backward. In law, all discrimination between men and women has been abolished. Yet, we all know the social and economic hardships which our

women suffer in addition to the general hardships which any individual suffers in a society so poor and still so largely mediaeval as ours.

A major task for the educated Indian women today is to make reality catch up with the opportunity created by law. Indian women have won their political, economic and social rights. But what have we done to translate these rights into realities ? The work in Assemblies, in Parliament, in Committees and Commissions does not take us far. What is needed is proper organisation and door-to-door work, for bringing about a community of interest between the educated women and the not-so-educated women of India, so that they can act together in the national interest.

The rights of Indian women were won not as a result of the fight of a rebellious, assertive, suffragist womanhood against an entrenched male privilege, as it happened in the Western countries. In India, the rights which the old oppressed groups, such as women, the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, the illiterate and the landless, won under that great charter of freedom and fraternity, our Constitution, were the outcome of a century-and-a-half of social revolution. Our political freedom itself was a part of this great social revolution, the mainspring of which was the urge towards social equality. Hence, our economic and social battles have stressed not class conflict but reconciliation.

In India, in spite of the fact that the emancipation of women has released powerful social forces, non-acceptance of equality of women on the part of men is a great hurdle. Another hurdle is the old ideal of a silently suffering Sita which remains at the back of the mind of even a liberated Indian woman.

The women of India have not indulged in any movements against menfolk. They have always stood shoulder to shoulder with them in support of common causes.

In the countries where women had to fight for their rights, it had been easier for man to finally accept the fact of women's emancipation.

Speech on 26th June 1966.

The women of India, belonging to all sections of society and engaged in multifarious tasks carry the responsibility of running the home, of bringing up the new generation and of braving the difficulties arising from spiralling prices. Women constitute 50% of the country's population. For centuries, they have imparted strength to the nation. For centuries they have upheld the noble traditions of India. We look to them again to maintain the high traditions of our culture. They continue to be the source of the nation's strength. We look to them for inspiration.

Speech on 15th August 1966.

What sort of society we will have lies very much in the hands of the women of this country. That is why we attach so much importance to the education of women.

All women are teachers and guides of society.

We would like the influence of women to be more deeply felt, and they have this opportunity more than any men can ever have.

Even at times, when women were not emancipated, there have been women of character who have left an impression on society and sometimes on an entire age.

Emancipation of women is not merely the number of women with education or influence, but the position and influence of the average woman.

They have in their care the moulding of a new mind, a new body, a future citizen.

They do the teacher's work from the time a new life begins.

In times of difficulty, Indian women have always come out on top.

Speech on 11th November 1967.

In law to-day Indian women are quite free. The Hindu Code Bill has abolished the numerous legal handicaps and discrimination from which they suffered. My father was a staunch supporter of women's rights. On one occasion he described the Hindu Code as perhaps his most important achievement ! However, law is one thing, tradition another. We have more women legislators than most countries of Western Europe or America. Women are also coming into their own in education, the administrative services, science, medicine, business and the professions. But one cannot say that all women have been liberated from their ancient handicaps. Working women, whether in towns or villages, have always had equality. Women who earn positions by their own effort and merit have always been accepted. But in between are a large number who continue to be home-bound and kitchen-bound. This is partly due to economic causes. But social conservatism also plays a big role. Marriage is still the biggest career for women.

A woman who is competent enough to handle a difficult job is usually also a better wife and home-maker.

My being Prime Minister has nothing to do with my being a woman. For nearly fifty years, ever since Mahatma Gandhi took up the leadership of the national movement, our people have been accustomed to seeing women in the forefront of political life. Indeed Gandhiji's success was in no small measure due to the fact that he was able to mobilise women, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, in towns and in villages.

Interview on 19th March 1968.

Our women did not fight against their men-folk, as happened in the suffragette movement in the West. They fought alongside men for freedom and fundamental rights. When we were humiliated or beaten up, sent to prison or to the gallows, we received no pity because of our sex. We shared the suffering and the sacrifice in full measure. Should we not share the fruits of freedom? Our Constitution incorporates our equality.

Interview on 19th March 1968.

Our women were once considered the most backward. To-day some of them occupy important positions. But it is not enough for a few to be prominent; they should be enabled to make full contribution as individuals, as home-makers and as moulders of social outlook.

Speech on 31st October 1969.

WORK

We must have a feeling of involvement in the country's future. We all like good conditions in which to work, but we should and must work, no matter what the conditions. I should like each student to say, "Come what may, I shall live and work for my country, to make it a better place, to leave my mark on it."

Convocation Address on 10th February 1969.

WORKERS

If the worker is disheartened, then whether you have the money or the right programme, it does not give the right results.

Speech on 22nd May 1971.

WORLD ORDER

The world order which the United Nations is striving to secure demands a measure of world understanding which universities can promote more effectively than political bodies.

Convocation Address on 24th December 1966.

WORLD SOCIETY

Science knows no barriers. Under its liberating influence we have progressed from the concept of loyalty to one's own tribe towards loyalty to the nation, and from the concept of nationhood to the concept of a world society. The very phrase 'world society' implies tolerance, understanding, friendship and co-operation between nations.

Speech on 3rd January 1968.

The world now is qualitatively different from what it was any time before. India is very much a part of the world. In fact some of the movements which exist elsewhere are found in greater intensity in our country.

Speech on 15th March 1969.

WORLD UNITY

The unity of the world means that this globe cannot be half poor and half rich, half healthy and half diseased. An epidemic or an endemic disease in any part of the world should rightly be regarded as a potential danger to all mankind and a challenge to the skill of science.

Speech on 27th September 1966.

WRITERS

Even though we are politically independent and sovereign, the battle of freedom is not completely over. Social transformation is still to be completed. Forces are at work within our country to limit true freedom. Some are interested in keeping the newly free nations weak and divided. Unfortunately, some writers sometimes allow themselves to be exploited by these forces.

If writers choose to be unmoved by the situation around them, they become irrelevant and might even be impediments to progress.

If writers propound narrow and harmful theories. the people will ultimately disown them.

In India, writers are not accountable to Government. They are answerable to their own conscience and to the judgment of the people. Their responsibility is to society as a whole. They must advocate all that makes life more free, more just, more humane and more beautiful. Their guiding principle should be that of the early seers of our country : Lead me from untruth to truth, from darkness to light, from death to immortality.

Writers are gifted with insight and more intense feeling than their fellowmen. The written word has powerfully influenced the mind of man and has enhanced its awareness and sensitivity. Writers and Poets give voice to the innermost urges of the people. They affirm a nation's basic beliefs and ideals.

It is always a privilege to meet writers.

Writers have often been pioneers of protest. They have raised their voice against foreign rule and domestic social injustice. In India, many leaders of our freedom movement, as also of social reform, have themselves been outstanding writers. Others have had close relationship with writers and thinkers. This is but natural. For there can be no political or social transformation without a corresponding intellectual effort.

The writers' purpose is to communicate to the people their search for truth and beauty.

Speech on 17th November 1970.

YOUTH OF INDIA

Youth must have greater opportunity. The young people of India must recognise that they will get from their country to-morrow what they give her to-day. The nation expects them to aspire and to excel. The worlds of science and art, of

thought and action beckon to them. There are new frontiers to cross, new horizons to reach and new goals to achieve.

Broadcast on 26th January 1966.

The youth have a special role to play in this process of change, adaptation and growth. Many progressive ideas are embodied in our Constitution. But our society is still far from accepting these ideas completely. We have to convert these ideas from mere intentions into concrete realities. This cannot be done merely by exhortation or enforcement. Each one of us has to make these ideas and values a part of his or her mental make-up. Only then will these values find genuine expression in our actions. We must begin with ourselves and not wait for others to set an example. This will require a certain degree of moral courage, a certain freedom from petty concerns about personal convenience and comfort.

The youth of the country are the single largest repository of the country. What are they waiting for? I have no sympathy with those who wait because they want someone to show them the way. This 'show us the way' business does not appeal to me at all. Each one of us has to think for himself and decide what is right and what is wrong.

Speech on 11th June 1966.

The newspaper sometimes bring news of restlessness among our young people, of strikes and facts, of direct action and clashes. To some extent, this restlessness reflects the dynamism of youth. To that extent the sentiment is welcome. But sometimes it does seem as though some of our young people are opposed to the very existence of authority. Is this a phase or a trend? It is important that we should seek to know why our students feel and act in this way.

The revolt and the reaction of youth against authority of any kind is a natural process necessary to growth into adulthood.

Society owes its young an education. After school and college, the educated young owe society a duty.

The best of our young atomic and biological scientists, our young economists and doctors, our young engineers and artists vie with their counterparts elsewhere in the world.

The conflict of the generations—with youth wanting certainties and simpler solutions, and age opting for compromise—gets sharpened.

Between the outlook of the young and the outlook of those who are in places of power, governmental or social, there seems to be a gap of non-comprehension.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

We look to our younger generation to provide the motive force for innovation and creative ideas. It is for them to cut a path to India's future. The conditions for this have to be created, so that our country moves forward with a new determination.

Youth has two attributes: energy and idealism.

A programme is necessary to fill the gaps in the lives of young people and to involve them in our national life. It could provide a challenge and a creative outlet to our young people.

Broadcast on 19th October 1966.

I do not want our young people to accept the formulations of their elders too tamely. But I would counsel them against easy negativism.

Convocation Address on 24th December 1966.

India is a potentially rich country with a variety of rich national resources, which should be used more fully. Our greatest asset should be the creative talents of our young people.

Speech on 7th September 1967.

They are the backbone of India. The strength of the nation depends on their strength. There is ferment in the minds of youth in India and elsewhere in the world. There are many reasons for this ferment. Perhaps, one reason is that traditional methods cannot provide a solution to problems of the new age. We can provide leadership to the youth only up to a point. From that point, they have to carve out a new path for themselves and for the nation's future. They will have to face many difficulties and challenges. They have either to climb the mountain of difficulties or cut through it. There is no other way. Our hopes are pinned on the youth of India. They can impart strength to the nation in many fields. I have every hope that they will engage in the mighty endeavour of building a great nation. Their energy and their enthusiasm will be a source of inspiration and encouragement to the entire nation.

Speech on 15th August 1968.

It is always a pleasure to be with young graduates and scholars, but to be with engineers and scientists is a special privilege, and I am delighted. More than others, it is our young engineers and scientists who are changing the face of our country.

Convocation Address on 16th November 1968.

Young people everywhere have a feeling of unrest. They have a feeling that something is wanting. They do not know what it is. But they are groping for it. I welcome this groping. Sometimes it takes strange directions and forms which we, who are older, do not understand. But that

does not give us the right to reject those forms, because with the help of such groping in earlier ages we have grown, and the world has become what it is to-day. Anything that is new, any search which is sincere and honest, must bring about something worthwhile.

Our young people have contributed a great deal to the India of to-day, but there is, of course, far greater amount still to be done.

Youth is really an attitude of mind; youth is eagerness, the desire to know, to discover the feeling that all of life is not behind us but ahead of us; that the great adventure is not something that has happened, but is going to happen.

The young and the poor must get together. The young must try to know what are the problems of the poor, because those problems affect our lives and our future. If we can solve the problem of poverty, then we would have solved the basic problem of India.

We have only two majorities in India—the young and the poor. Every other group is a minority.

Speech on 21st July 1969.

This is the age of youth. They have to follow new paths. They do not have to look towards anybody else, because those who look towards others for guidance are left behind. We have to show a new path to our young men. I know our young men are endowed with courage and determination. It is by cultivating courage, hope, self-reliance, and self-confidence that we can make progress.

Speech on 15th August 1969.

Indira Gandhi comments on Popular Personalities, Political Parties, Prominent Places, etc.

ABDUL GAFFAR KHAN

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan was the greatest disciple of Gandhiji. Our people called him 'Frontier Gandhi' and showered upon him deep respect and affection.

Speech on 15th August 1969.

ABDUL HAMEED, HAKEEM

There are many remedies in the Ayurvedic and Tibbia systems, and in some folk remedies, which will prove invaluable in our fight against disease. These systems have served our people for centuries. The effort now should be to apply to them the rigorous test of rational, scientific analysis. Such an effort is indeed being made, notably by Hakeem Abdul Hameed of Hamdard and his devoted band of scientists.

Speech on 14th February 1970.

AJMAL KHAN, HAKEEM

Hakeem Ajmal Khan strove to remedy personal illnesses out of the nation's illness. He was a great physician and a great representative of our traditional knowledge and culture as well as an outstanding patriot and nation-builder. He remains an inspiration to all those who seek to serve our people. These institutions are proof that the work which he started continues and endures.

Speech on 14th February 1970.

AZAD, MAULANA ABUL KALAM

He was a pillar of strength to us during our struggle for Freedom and afterwards, when we laid the foundation of our democracy. I know how much regard and affection Jawaharlal Nehru had for him and how he sought his advice and followed it. Whenever Panditji had a problem he would think of Maulana

Sahib and seek his advice. Often his advice turned out to be correct and both the Congress and the country followed it.

He was blessed with a rare intellect. Even when he was very young, he was known for his high thinking and his method of working. His association with India raised the stature of our country. If to-day we have learnt to live up to high ideals, Maulana Azad had a big hand in making this possible.

Maulana Sahib played an important role in propagating and strengthening unity in the country. He represented the diverse people and thought-processes of our country and varied influences of other countries on us.

Maulana Azad combined in himself the best of all the thought-processes and imbibed good things from the West, the Arabs and India's past That is why he was a good and true representative of India.

Tribute paid on 22nd February 1966.

BANGLA DESH

Has Pakistan the right to compel at bayonet-point not hundreds, not thousands, not hundreds of thousands, but millions of its citizens to flee their homes ? For us it is an intolerable situation The fact that we are compelled to give refuge and succour to these unfortunate millions cannot be used as an excuse to push more and more people across our border.

These twenty-three years and more, we have never tried to interfere with the internal affairs of Pakistan, even though they have not exercised similar restraint. And even now we do not seek to interfere in any way. But what has actually happened ? What was claimed to be an internal problem of Pakistan, has also become an internal problem for India. We are, therefore, entitled to ask Pakistan to desist immediately from all actions which it is taking in the name of domestic jurisdiction, and which vitally affect the peace and well-being of millions of our own citizens. Pakistan cannot be allowed to seek a solution of its political or other problems at the expense of India and on Indian soil

We are convinced that there can be no military solution to the problem of East Bengal. A political solution must be brought about by those who have the power to do so. World opinion is a great force. It can influence even the most powerful. The Great Powers have a special responsibility. If they exercise their power rightly and expeditiously then only can we look forward to durable peace on our sub-continent.

But if they fail—and I sincerely hope that they will not—then this suppression of human rights, the uprooting of people, and the continued homelessness of vast numbers of human beings will threaten peace.

Statement in Parliament on 24th May 1971.

Slogans are raised about Bangla Desh and its great leader. It is a matter about which no one in India or anywhere in the world, who has love for Independence and humanity, can remain quiet. But whatever steps we may take, we have to see whether such steps make us strong or not. Whether such steps or slogans also make those people strong who are involved in their fight for freedom. I can assure you that any step that we may take will be guided by the consideration that wherever there may be fight for freedom or wherever down-trodden may fight for their rights and wherever there is a struggle for the progress of humanity, India and its people will always come out in their support. This is the time, howsoever critical it may be, we should not feel frustrated. In fact there has never been any reason to feel disheartened. To-day, when the people have repeatedly proved that in spite of these sufferings and sacrifices involved, we can and will face the difficulties with faith and self-confidence. We are not afraid to face the future.

Speech on 15th August 1971.

BENGAL

Bengal has been in the forefront of our intellectual renaissance and our nationalist awakening. From the time of the first of our moderns, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, down to the present day, the number of great sons and daughters of Bengal, who have enriched and ennobled our national life, is legion.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

I have great admiration for the people of Bengal. In the history of India's resurgent renaissance, they have played a unique and distinctive role. They have given us top leaders in many fields—in politics, in science, in literature, in art and in religion. They have given us our national anthem.

Speech on 8th April 1967.

I have affection and admiration for the people of Bengal; I have confidence in their ability and in their strength and creative genius.

Bengal has greatly contributed to the shaping of modern Indian thought. Our recent history glitters with the names of many eminent Bengalees.

Broadcast on 19th July 1970.

BHABHA, DR. HOMI

Dr. Bhabha was a rare being, an all-rounder and a man of many-sided personality. So should all scientists be; for what is science if not the thirst for truth and beauty ? Artist and musician of sensitive eye and ear, well-read and well-travelled, Dr. Bhabha was a man of ideas, who had the ability and the opportunity to translate his ideas into reality. His youthful dynamism and ceaseless energy enabled him to bring into being Trombay, Tarapur, Jaduguda and Rana Pratap Sagar nuclear power stations. His work had only begun ; had he remained with us a little longer, he would have seen the first generation of nuclear power stations become operational, the younger one in this family completely indigenously designed and fuelled.

Dr. Bhabha's vision conceived of the enormous potentialities of nuclear science in his famous Minute written in the early part of 1944, before the first atom bomb exploded on Hiroshima. In other words, he was fully committed to the peaceful uses of atomic energy, which, he said, India should lose no time in exploiting, well before its destructive uses were manifested. Thereafter, Dr. Bhabha worked ceaselessly to create the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, the Atomic Energy Establishment and its production units in many parts of the country and also launched the Indian Space Programme

Speech on 12th January 1967.

Homi Bhabha's sense of dedication to India and to the cause of Indian science made the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research a reality. With singleness of purpose, he pursued his resolve to establish, in his homeland, a school of nuclear physics comparable to the best in the world, rather than accept a chair in the international scientific capital of the time.

Speech on 10th April 1971.

BOMBAY

Bombay is one of our great cities. It is a cosmopolitan city. All these big cities have been built by many communities. People from different parts of the country have brought in their money, their industry and their talent. This is how

these cities have grown and prospered and any movement which wants to shut off anybody from them will result in bringing these cities down ; instead of their rising and growing and adding to the general strength of the country, they will become much narrower in scope.

Speech in Parliament on 20th February 1969.

CALCUTTA

This great metropolis has cradled our cultural, political and spiritual re-birth.

Broadcast on 19th July 1970.

CHINA AND INDIA

Somebody talked about our honour having been lost. Whose honour has been lost ? I have not lost my pride. India's pride is not lost. We keep on saying that we have lost to the Chinese, that we have not done this or we have failed in that· We do not remember that U.K. and U.S.A. went on losing the war for good four years during the Second World War. There was a swing in their favour only in the fifth year. And in Europe, the war was not a surprise. A year before it started —September 6, 1938, I remember the date—I got a telegram in Germany asking me to return as war was expected to break out soon. It came a year later. When it did come, Britain was not prepared. The Chinese beat us in a surprise war. But if anybody tells me that we lost our honour because of that, he knows nothing about war or how wars are fought. If the honour of U.K. and U.S.A. was not lost, how is our honour lost because of a strategic retreat ? It is people like us sitting here who are guilty of going on saying, "We have lost our honour." Our honour is too big a thing to be lost in this way. Similarly, if we have to retreat on the Plan it is because, in military language, we are shortening the front tactically.

Speech on 25th July 1966.

China and India are two of the big facts of Asia but not the only two. There are also other countries which, by virtue of their resources, size of population and technological skills could be very important. Unfortunately, China and India are in a state of political and military confrontation. The situation is not of our choosing but we are naturally determined to face it. China too must realise the importance of living at peace with her neighbours, and I am sure that in time it will do so.

Asia Magazine, 19th July 1968.

CONGRESS, INDIAN NATIONAL

The Congress has had high objectives before it. Many times we have faltered and made mistakes. We have many shortcomings. But it has been and should be our endeavour to work towards our objectives. We do not want to be caught up in any whirlpool of 'isms'.

Speech on 12th March 1967.

The Indian National Congress has played a historic role in leading the country to Independence and through the formative years since then. It provided stability and continuity at a time when this was of paramount importance. It also sowed the seeds of change and allowed these seeds to germinate.

Broadcast on 15th March 1967.

The Congress Party does not seek a monopoly of power. Nor does it think that it has a monopoly of wisdom. In fact, we are opposed to monopolies of all kinds—feudal monopolies, economic monopolies, personal or family monopolies.

Speech in Parliament on 20th March 1967.

Congress Party was never conceived as a Party of the privileged but as a party of the masses. The denigration of the poor and illiterate masses which has been indulged in of late by some people runs counter to the democratic tradition taught to us by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Whatever weaknesses have developed in our Party are directly the result of some of us neglecting the true sources of our strength.

The relationship between the legislative and organisational wings of our Party has also been widely debated. I do not think, nor have I ever suggested that the organisational wing should be subservient to the legislative wing. I believe that the work to be done for the country and the People is so immense that Government alone cannot do it. Legislative work is only a part and not the whole of our Party's work. The organisational wing should work ceaselessly among the people, find out their true needs, and create conditions for the legislative wing to exert itself for the fulfilling of those needs. The legislative wing is required to further not only the Party's objectives, but also the objectives of the nation as a whole. There need be no occasion for conflict between the two wings as long as our Party is fully democratic, secular and socialist.

Message to a Conference on 18th September 1969.

However long the road and however difficult the task, Congress must rejuvenate itself by new act of dedication. Let the Party, let the people of this great land of ours, rally to the cause of democracy and of socialism.

Speech on 13th November 1969.

The Congress Party is like an umbrella which had covered under itself many different points of view. That is one common factor of winning political Independence. Even before Independence, there were different ways of functioning and thinking and there were different groups. But after Independence, this became very much—I mean the vision became very much sharper.

Speech on 13th December 1969.

The Congress is not so much a name as an idea.

Interview to 'PRAVDA's Correspondent in 1969.

Our Party is the central force in Indian life. We have the responsibility whereas those who are not in power have the freedom and the right to advocate courses which may not necessarily be responsible.

Speech on 31st August 1970.

CONGRESS SPLIT

What I have done in my own Party was not to split it; on the contrary, I tried desperately hard for three years to prevent this split which I could see coming. In fact it nearly happened even in my father's time. But I thought that it would be a bad thing for the country and I tried to prevent it until a situation arose where the Party was really getting so far from the people, that I could not see the Congress Party surviving even till 1972, till the next elections. And that is why I had to insist on something and even then it is not I who asked the people who are with me to split the Party but the others who decided to go and sit with the Opposition and if I may say so, I think they showed rather unseemly haste in doing so. Had they continued for about a week till they got their proper seats, I do not think that anybody would have misjudged their intentions or judged it to be a weakness on their part and the things like that. But on the very first day in the Parliament they made a great dramatic show by sitting with the Opposition and it is not without point that the Opposition they sat with is the extreme rightest Opposition—the two parties which are in different ways entirely opposed to anything which Mahatma Gandhi stood for.

Speech on 13th December 1969.

COUNCIL OF SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, with its National Laboratories and other scientific organisations, represents a considerable segment of our national effort. Although this scientific effort is still small in relation to our needs and aspirations, it represents a substantial quantum of human and financial resources.

Speech on 10th August 1968.

DELHI

Delhi is the door-step of India. The banner of Freedom was raised here on many occasions. When the last battle of Freedom was fought and the country was partitioned and there were riots, the message of unity and Independence went out from here.

Speech on 15th August 1967.

No matter where you go in India, you find visible traces of history. This is specially so of Delhi, and of this area where the remains of our old citadel dominates the landscape.

Speech on 14th February 1970.

ENGLAND

England was known as the most unmusical country in the world before the last War. During the War, when there was so much tension, the Government arranged for lunch-hour concerts. This meant that musicians would give their services, sometimes free and sometimes at a fee, and play during the lunch break. It was highly classical music from the best pianists, violinists and others. By making good music available to ordinary people, like office and factory workers, Britain became one of the most music-minded countries of Europe.

Speech on 11th June 1966.

FRANCE

I share the admiration and the love of my father for France and for French culture. Any meeting which can further the relations between our two countries is welcome and is likely to give fruitful results.

I inherited many good things from my father. One of them is love for France, French language and other things.

Speech on 13th December 1969.

GOKHALE, G.K.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale was a great son of India—one of the moulders of the Indian mind; a leader of great intellect and unsurpassed purity ; the *guru* of Gandhiji and a whole host of servants of India. Gokhale not only believed that public life must be spiritualized, but also showed in his own life how it can be done.

Speech on 9th May 1966.

GURU GOBIND SINGH

Guru Gobind Singh's achievements were many-sided. He was gifted with unusual spiritual power. He was a teacher and poet of God-given inspiration, who preached the equality of men and the unity of religions. His faith made him a great exponent of spiritual liberty. He was an equally great exemplar of political liberty. He opposed imperial tyranny and became the focal point of the spirit of resistance. The Guru was not only a man of prayer but a man of action. His feats on the field of battle were marvels of valour.

Even as he fought political tyranny, he fought religious intolerence, caste and superstition.

Broadcast on 18th January 1967.

HINDUSTAN MACHINE TOOLS

Hindustan Machine Tools is one of our outstanding industrial enterprises, and it is a model of dynamatic management not in the public sector alone but in the public and private sectors combined. Machine-making is the true test of the economic strength and self-reliance of a nation. H.M.T. has been able to set up a new unit every year out of its own resources. It has shown that it can set the pace.

Speech on 4th August 1967.

JAN SANGH PARTY

The Jan Sangh has a point of view about minorities which I do not think is in the interest of the unity of the country. There are still many people in India who do fall a prey to feelings of communalism, casteism and regionalism.

Speech in Parliament on 20th February 1969.

Jan Sangh, isolated as they are from the contemporary world by the cobweb of superstition and of communalism, must pay some heed to the upsurge of feeling which they see all round them.

Speech in Parliament on 7th August 1969.

The party which is dangerous—is the Right Wing Jan Sangh, and it is dangerous because it appeals to the religious emotions of the people. And when a person thinks of religion in an emotional way, he is swept off his feet. He cannot think logically or rationally and this is a great danger of the Jan Sangh.

Can we change their way of thinking ? I do not know. They have changed quite a lot in recent years. They started off as being very conservative in their economic policy but lately they have been saying that they believe in socialism. Only they do not think that we are socialists and we do not follow it properly. First, they were against the very concept of planning. Now they say : No, planning is good; but our Plans are bad. In foreign policy also they were against our policy of non-alignment and they were for a pro-Western attitude. Since the last year they have been saying that they believe in non-alignment but we are not certainly non-aligned. So in any way it is several steps forward and in most of my public speeches when I criticised them I have said I am not against the Jan Sangh as, indeed, I am not against any Party as such. I am against certain ideas which I consider to be bad for national unity or national strength and that is why as long as the Jan Sangh talks about superiority of one religion or the people of one religion, about the majority community being the first class citizens and the others being the second class citizens, on that point I am certainly going to oppose them with all my strength.

Speech on 13th December 1969.

They say that they are distinct from R.S.S. We do not think that they are distinct. I am told, I am not absolutely sure, that the members who have joined certain Governments on behalf of the Jan Sangh have been members of the R.S.S. I think there are any number of speeches which can be produced on these lines.

Speech in Parliament on 14th May 1970.

LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri gave his life for peace. It should be our effort to advance the cause of peace and, at the same time, make the country strong and safeguard its security.

Tribute paid on 19th January 1966.

During his brief but memorable stewardship, Shastriji enriched the Indian tradition in his own way. He has left our country united and determined to pursue our national objectives.

Broadcast on 26th January 1966.

Shastriji was a great product of the Gandhian era.

Shastriji was a man of quiet greatness, who lived for India and for peace and who died for India and for peace. He was identified with the Indian people. He was imbued with the spirit of service, and he thought always of the welfare of the people. He led our country at a time of service trial, and he helped India to demonstrate both unity and determination.

Shastriji left us the slogan *Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan*. This new slogan is, in a way of speaking, an extension of our old slogan *Jai Hind*. India can have victory only through *jawans* (soldiers) and *kisans* (farmers). The freedom of our country is guarded by the *jawans* as well as by all those who work and produce. In the trying days of Kutch and later in the Northern conflict, Shastriji wanted the nation clearly to realise that the defence of the country required the strengthening not only of the defence forces, but of the economic base.

Tribute paid on 11th January 1967.

PAKISTAN

We have expressed our desire to resume discussions at any level to consider the further and fuller implementation of the Tashkent Declaration and the restoration of the Tashkent spirit. Let there be greater and freer movement of people and flow of information across our borders. Let us find and extend areas of economic co-operation. Let us speedily resolve such boundary issues as are outstanding. Let us see if we can sort out the human problem of migration in the Eastern region. If we can get these issues out of the way, I am sure that a just, fair and lasting settlement of all our differences will become possible.

Broadcast on 7th July 1966.

We want economic co-operation and we want our people to mix freely so that false fears can be removed. Let leading citizens from Pakistan visit India, travel around and make their own assessment. We seek friendship, not conflict.

We stand by the pledge that both India and Pakistan had earlier accepted to abjure the use of force in the settlement of differences. Let there be no doubt about this. It is our sincere desire to live in peace with our neighbours.

Broadcast on 4th September 1966.

We seek friendship of Pakistan, and would like to establish with that country co-operative relations in matters like trade,

transit and communications, development of joint water resources and free flow of information. As areas of co-operation develop, I believe, it would be easier to discuss other outstanding issues and resolve them on honourable terms and to our mutual satisfaction.

Speech on 8th April 1967.

We have had differences with Pakistan. Perhaps, these differences are due to the fact that we have had close relations. Sometimes brothers develop serious differences. We have been the victims of aggression and of hostile propaganda. In spite of this, Pandit Nehru and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri offered a No-War Pact to Pakistan. On this day, I once again commend a No-War Pact for Pakistan's consideration. A No-War Pact will be of mutual advantage to both and will afford us an opportunity to face internal problems and to make progress.

Speech on 15th August 1968.

RAMA KRISHNA MISSION

Myself, my family and particularly my mother have been very closely connected with the Rama Krishna Mission. I cannot say whether my association with Rama Krishna Mission has been due to this factor or I have seen during my lifetime that Rama Krishna Mission not only contributed towards the spread of our ancient culture but also is doing social welfare work along with this. Combination of these two thoughts have influenced me greatly.

The work done by the various branches of the Rama Krishna Mission all over the world has been excellent.

Speech on 4th June 1971.

RAM MOHAN ROY, RAJA

Raja Ram Mohan Roy started a movement which led to the renaissance of India through Indian nationalism combined with social reform and modernism.

Convocation Address on 10th October 1966.

RUSSIA

We want to remain friends with everyone. Recently, we entered into a treaty with the Soviet Union. Some people think that as a result of this treaty there has been a change in our policy. There has been no change in our policy because the policy we are following is the one which is good for this country. It is not as though we cannot ever change our policy. But the policy we have followed is the one which was correct

before and is correct to-day for a country like India. We now see that all countries, whether they admit it or not, are now inclined towards this policy. In fact, for centuries, no other policy like that of India can be of any good. Therefore, we have to stick to basic things whether they flow out of our traditions or our modern day politics.

Speech on 15th August 1971.

SENAS

I should like to say a word about the various *senas* (volunteer corps) which are cropping up all over India. I cannot understand what battles these *senas* are going to fight. As I see the Indian situation, there is only one battle to fight and that is the battle against poverty. And it required only one *sena* and that the *sena* of a united, determined Indian people.

Speech in Parliament on 23rd February 1968.

SHIVAJI

I had the privilege of having a part of my education in that part of the country where Shivaji operated, that is, in Poona, and most of our excursions were to the sites of some of the old forts which he captured. I have grown up to regard him as a national hero and not as a Maharashtrian hero or as a hero of a particular region.

Speech in Parliament on 20th February 1969

SHIV SENA

I have spoken out very strongly against *Shiv Sena* and al such *senas* on various occasions and I have absolutaly nol hesitation in saying also that such movements do constitute a very serious threat to the development, progress and unity of the country.

Speech in Parliament on 20th February 1969.

SPANISH LANGUAGE

Spanish is a beautiful language with a rich literature. I wish more Indians would learn it.

Interview on 19th March 1968.

STATE BANK OF INDIA

I think the State Bank has shown imagination and initiative in formulating and implementing programmes to finance small-scale industries since 1956. At the end of 1968, the total sanctioned limits for assistance to small-scale industrial units by the State Bank and its subsidiaries amounted to Rs. 162 crores.

The State Bank also played an important part in providing remittance facilities. In 1969 alone remittances effected through the State Bank on behalf of the co-operative banks which are dispersed throughout the country amounted to nearly Rs. 700 crores. Also the State Bank, from the very beginning, looked upon the provision of banking facilities in the rural areas and semi-urban areas to be one of its primary responsibilities. More than 70 per cent of the branches opened by the State Bank and its subsidiaries were in towns with a population of less than 25,000. About 60 per cent of the total number of branches are to-day located in such smaller places.

The State Bank has been pioneer in introducing several new facilities. Some of these are: travellers' cheques, credit transfers, instalment credit scheme for the benefit of small-scale industries, one-man offices and schemes for assisting qualified technicians, transport operators and retail trade. The State Bank has undertaken these developmental activities without detriment to commercial and banking principles. Its record in the mobilisation of deposits compares favourably with other banks.

Speech in Parliament on 7th August 1969.

SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE

Netaji's entry into political life gave a new turn to India's struggle. A new wave of enthusiasm swept the country. His restless and dynamic spirit led him to a path that was somewhat different from our own. Gandhiji used to say that the only wrong path is the path of cowardice. The path of courage can never be wrong. Netaji's was a path of courage, and it did bring the goal of Independence nearer.

Speech on 17th December 1967.

SWATANTRA PARTY

The Swatantra Party does not matter really because it is a Party which has no future. It was in a way a still-born from the beginning.

Many of our Swatantra Party MP's are elected from areas in Bihar which they had never visited before. They do not even speak the language of the people. They know nothing about it. But they got elected from those areas because people are economically backward and less politically conscious than in other parts of the country.

Speech on 13th December 1969.

Although the Swatantra Party does believe in lessening economic disparities, it does not believe in Socialism.

Intervilw to Dr. Gisela Bonn, German Journalist.

TATA INSTITUTE

The Tata Institute of Fundamental Research occupies a special position in the scientific system of our country. It owes this position not to the beauty of its location or the splendour of its buildings, but to the steadfastness with which it has pursued high standards of scientific performance.

Speech on 10th April 1971.

TILAK, BAL GANGADHAR

To Tilak the purpose of his newspaper was 'to work for the awakening of the people, to teach them sincerity and the sense of unity'. He said, "We write in order that the readers might imbibe our spirit and understand our thoughts, our urges and our indignation."

Speech on 1st February 196.

TIRUPATI

Tirupati is a place of pilgrimage which draws the devout from all parts of the country. Traditionally, our pilgrim centres have also been centres of learning and scholarship. The far-sightedness of the Temple authorities in spending a large part of the revenues of the Temple on education is commendable. This is appropriate, for, after all, is not knowledge itself true religion ?

Convocation Address on 10th February 1969.

UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

The United Nations Organisation is the hope of the world, more especially of the smaller powers and developing nations, for it is the symbol of world community.

Speech on 21st October 1966.

The United Nations represent mankind's hope to evolve something higher, something better, and much of what the United Nations is and can become depends on the Secretary-General, on his own personal faith and the conception of the duties of his office

Speech on 12th April 1967.

The world is changing. Implicit faith in the efficacy of, and unquestioning dependence on military alliances, as well as the rigidities of the bipolar world, are in a state of flux. Every nation, regardless of its size, is endeavouring to establish its own identity This encourages the hope that despite obstacles the United Nations will be able to help all nations to live in peace and independence.

The United Nations is the trustee of the world's peace and represents the hopes of mankind. Its very existence gives a feeling of assurance that the justice of true causes can be brought fearlessly before the world.

Speech on 14th October 1968.

VARANASI

Varanasi has been changing during the last thirty centuries or more, yet it has remained the symbol of our continuity and has retained its special place in the hearts of Indians. It is one of the main centres of our tradition. The great scholars who made this city famous were ceaselessly experimenting, and each discovery of theirs was a revolution.

Speech on 3rd January 1968.

VIETNAM

A brutal and tragic conflict is raging in Vietnam. It must be ended before it destroys the entire country and spreads and engulfs the world. It has revived cold war postures and tensions. There is only one real solution : a peaceful political settlement in keeping with the wishes of the people of Vietnam and free from all outside interference, as envisaged under the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

Speech on 21st October 1966.

I must express the deep admiration we feel for the valiant manner in which these brave people have fought for so long with so little means. They are able to do so because they are fighting for something that concerns them very deeply as individuals, as a nation, as members of the human race. This is the feeling that all nations had when they were fighting for independence, when they were fighting for something which was much greater than themselves. This is what has given them the endurance to persevere in their struggle.

Speech on 18th October 1970.